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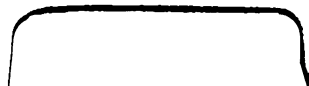
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A VOICE
FROM
AMERICA TO ENGLAND.

BY AN AMERICAN GENTLEMAN.

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P R E F A C E.

“ THERE are, at the present time,” says M. de Tocqueville, “ two great nations in the world, which seem to tend towards the same end, although they started from different points. I allude to the Russians and the Americans. Both of them have grown up unnoticed ; and whilst the attention of mankind was directed elsewhere, they have suddenly assumed a most prominent place among the nations. The world learned their existence and greatness at almost the same time.”

It will probably be admitted, by all attentive observers, who see the world as it is, and whose habits of thought lead them to note the comparative importance of different portions of human society in their rise and progress, that there is some truth in the statement above introduced. As individuals of extraordinary endowments make their way to positions of influence, in spite of obstacles which oppose their progress, and against rivals envious of their

career and plotting to intercept it, so nations, possessed of adventitious advantages, moral or physical, or both combined, will rise and become prominent; and being prominent, are likely in that proportion to be influential. Russia, as we need not say, has become prominent for her physical advantages and power; and for the displays recently made of her importance in that concentrated *morale*, which organises, directs, and controls the whole. But Russia is influential only as being formidable. There is little in her civilisation, that is likely to be copied by nations which have far outstripped her in this career; and still less in her political and civil fabric, that will be imitated.

Russia occupies the extreme of a high and rigorous despotism; America, the extreme of popular liberty—of democracy. There are numerous considerations in the history and aspects of American society, which must necessarily command attention and exert influence, especially with the present most prevalent temper of mankind. America is already great and powerful; her destiny in the career of importance presents no visible term; and she has opened on the gaze of the world the scene of a momentous experiment. We say *experiment*. It is not, indeed, anomalous in the records of history; but it is so in fact, and in comparison with anything

that exists. There *has* been nothing like it; there *is* nothing like it.

The first start of the United States as an independent nation, attracted great attention, and produced a wide-spread sensation. It created a strong and prolific impulse in general society. It precipitated the great French revolution of the last century, and gave it shape and potency; and of course must be regarded as having been influential in the protracted agitations of Europe, which commenced with that date, and which gave such a turn to human affairs. We suppose it equally true to say, that the example of America has had no inconsiderable influence in Great Britain, by exciting discontent, and stimulating radicalism. The democracy of America has roused, and marshalled, and animated the democracy of the British Empire.

And since it must be, that the spectacle of America, as a democratic State, will have influence, it is desirable that it should be graduated by a knowledge of the experiment, such as it is. If, indeed, the results of this probation are yet problematical, and the final issue dubious; if there are elements at work in American society, which give to its aspects a portentous character, there may be some good reasons for the world to pause and consider, before it makes haste to tread in the same track. The author

of these pages may have his opinion on this point ; but that is of little consequence. His object has been to exhibit a true and faithful picture of American society, mainly as political and religious, as these two characteristics have a strong affinity, and are supremely influential. The reader will be left to form his own opinion of the facts exhibited and suggested, and to him also is resigned the department of prophecy over the future. The author is well convinced, that the world does not yet comprehend America ; and it may be doubtful whether America comprehends itself. The spectacle of its history, and the study of its character, are yet a problem. Whether the author has contributed anything towards its solution, he cannot pretend to say ; but the reader will probably discover sundry and strong features of American society in these pages, which never before came under his eye. And if there be any good reason in the facts of history for the author's views, as presented here and there, the reader will also see, that they exhibit many things of practical importance, and likely to be fruitful in result, which have not been generally recognised, and never before exhibited so distinctly to public view. For the most part, and in its leading drift, as will probably be admitted, this volume occupies untrodden ground. And it is believed, that those

who know best, will acknowledge the truth of the picture, except as in some instances, it may fulfil the office a mirror not altogether agreeable. In the execution of the plan of this work, it was impossible to gratify all, and unavoidable to displease some; and although censure, or ungracious criticism, is never covetable, truth is of more importance, and the good of society a paramount consideration, and at least a partial indemnification.

American society has manifested two leading and opposite tendencies: one towards the lowest level of democracy, and the other towards a spiritual supremacy. The former is pretty well understood; the latter will find its portrait in these pages. Both, indeed, are made subjects of consideration. They are two extremes, that beget each other.

As if nothing good could come to man without its evil, and no sweet without a bitter; as if every dawn of a brighter day must have its malignant star; and as the fairest sun must have its spots, so the rapid advancement of society in general improvement, must be visited by the Demon of Radicalism, to mar the picture, and charge the onward movement with a portentous and dangerous power. This spirit of evil broods alike over America and over Europe, over all empires and republics, saps the thrones of the former and the Constitutions of the

latter, and threatens the world with infinite mischief.

And as if the history of Christianity were not sufficiently fraught with the abuses of religious power, the great pains that have been taken in America to separate religion from the State, seem only to have opened a new field, and presented temptation, for the setting up of a new spiritual dynasty, as much more influential, as it is more independent, than a Church allied to the State.

New York, November, 1838.

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A VOICE

FROM

AMERICA TO ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

DEFINITIONS.

DEMOCRACY—a government of primary assemblies. This is pure democracy. Type, Grecian. As in the small states of Greece at one period, the people are supposed to be convoked for original legislation, for judicial decisions, and for all purposes of government. It is properly a government extempore, in distinction from a government constitutional. It will be manifest, however, that a pure democracy is impracticable, even in the smallest communities reduced to civilization; much more in larger. Government must have ubiquity to the extent of its jurisdiction, and be always in action, or in a posture ready for action. But a people cannot always be in a public assembly; and, if they could, they would require public servants to execute their will. The very necessities of society, therefore, present a pure democracy as a ridiculous theory. Every stage of ad-

vancement in civilization is a proportionate remove from a proper democracy. The appointment of a chairman, secretary, and the whole organization of a primary popular assembly, is a remove from democracy, because it is a resignation of office by the many, in favour of a few. The records of such an assembly, and their subsequent influence and authority, are another remove from democracy. The constitution of society, as ordained by the voice of this assembly, is yet another and higher remove. Their decisions in the shape of laws, the archives of legislation and of courts, the public servants appointed to execute and maintain the laws, and all this machinery, as set in order and made to work without the presence of this assembly, are among the blessings of civilization ; and so far and in so much a remove from democracy. In other words, a pure democracy can hardly be called society ; and but for those who have some respect for the name, it might be set down as a state of barbarism, and but one remove from a state of nature wherein the will of a plural number is expressed in the most convenient and least expensive way, to wit, *viva voce*, and operates to abridge the liberties of the solitary condition. But it happens that the world is not wide enough for multitudes to live in the state of nature ; and it is no less true, that they cannot live and be civilized under a pure democracy. And thus the theory of a democracy is exploded by the slightest examination of its practicability. The first stage of asso-

ciation and civilization is an abandonment of the principle of a democracy.

But democracy is a very common word, and may fairly be supposed to mean something more than this. It is a potent moral talisman, circulating in society, falling from the lips of men, and swimming before the eye of the great public on the pages of their literature. It is influential with the many, and runs down into those under-currents which roll onward invisible and silent, but deep and strong, seeming to laugh at the pride and majesty of the waters which mount and sport above; and is secretly undermining the artificial structures which ages of civilization have reared on foundations supposed to be durable. More especially is this a word of deep meaning and great potency in America. No political party can dispense with it there. Whatever their principles, radical or conservative, their best passport is democracy. Hence, under all the rapidly-succeeding changes of party-names, adopted and given, which have characterised the history of American politics, the radicals now stand, self-styled, democratic; and the conservatives cannot do without it, and are forced to assume the style of democratic republicans, democratic whigs, &c.*

It is in vain, therefore, that we bring to our aid etymology, or history, or any other remote law, to settle the meaning of this term in America; or as it

* Note A, Appendix.

is applied to American institutions, partialities, or prejudices. Names are empty, except as they represent things; and fallacious, except they represent them as they are.

M. De Tocqueville has proved himself a philosopher in the use and application of this term. He finds in America a popular dynasty, and what he is pleased to install in the class of free governments; though, peradventure, he also finds, or thinks he finds, somewhat of accidental tyranny therein. Where precisely is the line which M. De Tocqueville, as might be supposed, would draw—since, in fact, he has not attempted the task—between democracy and something else, or everything else? Where, in the ascending series, does all else, called government, end, and this begin? Plainly, there is no exact limit that can be fixed. The arbitrary and accidental application of names does not determine this question. Democracy might choose a king; and history, or custom, call the government an elective monarchy. An hereditary and constitutional monarchy, like that of Great Britain, supported by an hereditary aristocracy, may, notwithstanding, be so encroached upon by the democracy of the country, or by the popular prerogatives conceded by the practical operation of the constitution, as to give to the democracy a virtual ascendancy; and yet it would not be called a democratical government, though it would be in an eminent degree popular.

As a matter of history, royalty in America was dethroned, and nobility abolished ; and the people assumed the government as their own right, and made it a thing of their own creation. It was neither imposed upon them, nor provided for them ; it did not descend to them by inheritance ; but it rose up from and originated in themselves ; it is subject to their will, and can be modified and altered at their will. This certainly is a popular government ; and because it is popular, by such causes, and in such a history, and for other like reasons ; and because it was convenient that it should have a name as the subject of an extended treatise, M. De Tocqueville calls it democracy—the democracy of America.

By the grammar of our definition of this condition of society, in its pure and simple state, it is not a democracy. On the contrary, it may be as far from it in fact, by such a rule, as the government of Great Britain ; it might even be farther ; it is unnecessary to be exact.

And there is a propriety, as well as convenience, in this name. The American government stands up before the world as the sole creation of the popular will. ' It is the people in their primary assemblies that have voiced it ; and the people in their primary assemblies can make it anything else. The nation is a great and growing people, and the government must be regarded as invested with a corresponding importance. But still it is a great and

complicated machinery of civilization, not less so perhaps than any other government. Nay, it has the credit of making laws faster than any other : and just in proportion as laws increase—excepting only those changes which result from popular fickleness—is the government removed from a pure democracy. But, notwithstanding, it is popular, radically and thoroughly so ; and this fact may probably be assumed as De Tocqueville's definition of such a political fabric. He is therefore justified in taking up this abstract, and, in all other hands but his, indistinct and vague notion, gathered from such a field, and ringing changes upon it for 464 pages, American octavo—we know not how many French and English—till the reader sees, hears, feels, tastes, smells nothing, thinks and dreams of nothing, but democracy ; till the world and the universe seem to be crammed with democracy ; till every other idea, compound or simple, resolves itself into this ; till the brain itself seems converted into the very material of democracy ; and the reader, alas ! may hope in vain to return to any other species of existence.

Nevertheless, M. De Tocqueville has done a good work, for which America and the world ought to thank him. He has at least favoured the public with the *idea* of democracy ; and if any one hereafter should become sceptical as to fact, or embarrassed in theory, or should want a definition, we would commend him to M. De Tocqueville,

whose book is a definition and a demonstration of all that could be asked, appertaining to the theme, in any single age. If much talk, and infinite discussion, can make a thing respectable, democracy shall henceforth stand on a pinnacle of fame, and command the admiration of the world.*

Democracy, as a spice of the will, and an element of society, may exist anywhere. It exists in Europe, and throughout the world, more or less in its simple state, but widely in the compound. Every man, by nature, every child, is a democrat. For what man doubts his ability to govern himself, to regulate his own private affairs, or to sustain a part in the government of society equal to his interests therein? And what child submits to government willingly? M. De Tocqueville intimates, by way of prophecy, that the world is rapidly approaching to a state of universal democracy, and bids the kings and nations of the earth to prepare for it, as the unalterable decree of Providence.

In America, certainly, democracy is the all-pervading leaven—the ruling power—not, indeed, in the primal grammatical form, but in its mixed condition. Instead of doing its own business, which would be impossible, it intrusts the office to servants of its own choice, primary, or immediately dependent on its will; secondary, dependent on the will of another; tertiary, &c.; though it generally takes care not to give a servant too much rope, too

* See Note B, Appendix.

many links of a chain, lest it should be more difficult to pull him in, or pull him down, when it is dissatisfied with his performances. The primary stage, or layer, of democracy, immediately above itself in the construction of the political fabric, and which is the object of its own immediate choice, is the great political power, the maker of the laws which act directly on the mass. We speak now more particularly of the State Governments, in distinction from that of the nation, though it is essentially true of the latter. This department of the state reflects the image of the democracy in some of its better specimens. The second stage, or that which is created by secondary appointments, is a refinement on the first, and so on. The farther removed the stage of trust, through mediate appointments, the more elevated and dignified generally will be the character, provided it be in the ascending series, and not in a ramification of subsidiary service.

Practically, a democracy begets an aristocracy of rank, privilege, and power ; and it makes kings. It cannot help it. Every magistrate is a king, and every law-maker an aristocrat. But they are of its own creation, and can be put back into nonentity at its own will ; and that is satisfactory. They hold their brief authorities, and retain their dignities, on sufferance, as long as they can please their masters, the people. Nevertheless, inequalities of condition, rank, and honours, are constantly created, and greatly

multiplied, in a democracy. Indeed, it may be said to be even more prolific of distinctions than oligarchies or monarchies, though they may be less valuable: and they seem, moreover, to be well-esteemed, inasmuch as a title once conferred is always worn, though the term of its commission may have been limited to a year, or a month. Hence, in no other country in the world are civic and military honours so bounteously distributed, or so commonly applied in the courtesies of life, as in America.*

We are compelled, therefore, to leave history, abstract speculations, and grammatical definitions, out of sight, and to look American democracy in the face, as an actual state of society, if we would know what it is. Since the world, and M. De Tocqueville in particular—who is likely to be the public organ in this matter, at least for a while—have been pleased to baptize American society with this name, we shall let it pass. In the sense of a popular government, it is certainly appropriate.

The first step of the Americans, however, in the way of government, was to violate the pure democratic principle; and every subsequent stage has been of a like character. Any government at all, as a machinery ordained to restrain or control the popular will, is a remove from a strict democracy. In relation to the active and efficient vitality of this extemporaneous power, the machinery of govern-

* Note C.

ment is a defunct, cumbrous, and useless institution. It is only an embarrassment, an obstacle, a state of bondage.

It is true, indeed, that the American government, as first set up, which was properly republican—that is, representative in a course of salutary degrees, and with salutary checks on the popular will, on the powers of legislation, of the executive, and of the judiciary—was assailed at an early period of its history, and has been assailed continuously down to the present time, by a power called democracy, and which is, in fact, democracy in the grammatical sense already ascribed to it; and that this power has been constantly acquiring influence, and gaining ascendancy in the republic during the term of its history. When, therefore, we use the term democracy in the general sense, as synonymous with republicanism, and as applicable to American institutions and society, such as they are; or when we use it in the grammatical and more restricted sense; we shall probably be understood, from the obvious drift of discourse. We are compelled to follow the leadings of conventional rules and established usage. If the world have agreed to call American republicanism, democracy, we must call it so too, in order to be understood: and if the ruling spirit of the country be regarded, aside from the forms under which it acts, and by which it is in some measure constrained, it must be confessed there is some reason for it.

LIBERTY AND EQUALITY.—It is singular, even marvellous, what effect these two words have had in the world: and what, really, is the amount of their meaning, properly explained? Jurists say, we must look to the intention of the law for its interpretation. Take, for example, these terms in the American Declaration of Rights:—“That all men are born *free* and *equal*.” What is the intention? In other words, what fact, or facts, in history, does this Declaration refer to? Simply and only, as regards the term “free,” or its substantive, “liberty,” to the denial, on the part of the British Crown, of the right of representation as a correlative of the right of taxation. It is simply a declaration of the right of influence in the government, in this particular mode—a very limited right, and so long as the parties claiming it should be in the minority, a very inefficient one. Nevertheless, it is an important right. It gives opportunity to be heard; to make an argument; to remonstrate, if needs be; to have influence; and it opens the chances of ultimate ascendancy in the counsels of the government. It is all the participation in a free government that can be claimed in the present imperfect state of society, where the majority must govern: and this was all that was asked by the colonies, the denial of which was the ground of complaint, and the occasion of the revolution. Liberty! For what? representation and influence in the government. So much, and no more. It

may have comprehended as much more, or as much less, in France, as the history of circumstances was different; but nothing great, certainly, as less or more. In Great Britain the meaning, also, for like reasons, may be different.

And yet, what a word has this said "Liberty" become! What a talisman in human society! What potency, and what a sweep of influence, has it acquired by having been distilled into an abstract notion, and then bandied about in all such applications as their interests, appetites, and passions have inclined! There is no limit to its meaning—there are no bounds to its influence.

And yet, in society there is no such thing as liberty, except the right of influence in the government—the right of *performing a task* for one's protection—of making, executing, and maintaining the laws: all the rest is duty, obedience, observance of social order, which is an abridgment of liberty, except as a man may choose to step aside from the reach of law, or so to steer his course—anything but liberty—as not to interfere with the empire of law.*

* It will be obvious to the reader that we make a distinction, in this train of reasoning, between liberty and social rights. If any choose to call the latter liberty, it must be conceded that usage warrants it. We mean simply, in the current of these remarks, that the social state is always so incumbered and surrounded with social obligations, as not to admit of absolute freedom of action. The respect we are bound to render to the rights of others always imposes restraints and constraints in numberless forms. Society is a system of mutual concession and reciprocal obligation.

There is no liberty except in the savage state, and not even then unless the savage be alone. The moment I enter into society I resign my liberty; and the more perfect society becomes, and the higher the pitch of civilization, so much the less is there of liberty, and so much the more contented and happy a man may be, and ought to be, as a reasonable and virtuous being. Such is the design, and such the tendency, of the social state, properly ordered.

The nearer a man approximates to being alone, to the state of nature—if it may be called so—so much the greater his liberty; but the deeper he plunges into society, so much the less is his liberty. The spare population of the newly-peopled American wilderness is favourable to liberty; but it is an abridgment of the advantages of civilization—a state not to be desired, only as the force of habit makes the wild man love his solitudes. Common country-life has more of liberty, or less of the constraints of law, than life in town; but even there one must be very circumspect not to interfere with the rights of his neighbour. Hence the commands, “Thou shalt not steal;” “Thou shalt not covet;” “Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself;” &c. Yonder is a field, but it is not mine; it is enclosed, and forbids me to trespass. My own grounds, house, goods, possession of whatever kind, and my family, are mine, to supervise, control, and enjoy, *only* under the regulations of society. Even here my

liberties are abridged at all points, and I am controlled. My person, my body, and even my spirits, that impalpable species of being, are supervised and governed by others. I cannot will myself, but I fall under the curse of God, and the ban of the social state. But all things else, which society has secured to others, are sacred against my approach or touch. If I lay my hand upon any part of them, or in any way become a trespasser or aggressor, the law lays its hand upon me; and then I may sing of liberty in durance vile; or, if I please, complain to myself for the want of it.

The moment I enter the town, the thousands I meet in the streets have the same right of passage with myself; there is but one house of a thousand, or of many thousand, which I have a title to enter, and that perhaps a hotel, where a hundred others have an equal claim to accommodation. But I am used to these abridgments of liberty, and make myself contented—it may be happy.

Yonder rolls a pleasant carriage, very comfortable to take an airing in; but it is not mine. On the stand is a hackney-coach; but, so sure as I appropriate it to myself, even under the protection of law, I shall very likely be cheated, abused, and vexed. I may desire to enter a certain circle of society, but I have not the entrée. I may descend where I do not wish; but to rise is difficult. There is wealth in the city uncounted, treasures not to be told, and goods in infinite variety; but all de-

nied to me. I am surrounded with barriers, prohibitions, and penalties, defending from my touch myriads of objects which are very desirable, if I had not found it necessary, and even best, to resign myself to be the contented and happy slave of the law.

Who, then, has liberty? and where is it to be found? Who desires it? None but the vicious—none but the enemy of society. Liberty has only a name. And what a name! How potent the charm! The only liberty claimed, by any fair interpretation, in the famed Declaration of American Rights, is that of influence, not immediate and personal, but by representation, in the making and administration of the laws, to which all owe obedience. And that liberty is no other than a task, and the effect of it a doom, though it ought to be a satisfactory one.

EQUALITY.—And what is the meaning of this? Again to the occasion of the Declaration. In the case of the Americans this was an indirect and accidental result. Their fathers had imbibed a prejudice against the divine right of kings, and against the privileged classes of an aristocracy; and this prejudice passed, by inheritance, to their children. In the administration of the British Government over the American colonies, they imagined—and not without reason—that they discerned an unreasonable preponderance of influence in the Crown,

and in the aristocracy, operating against the claimed rights of the colonies; which increased this prejudice, and matured it to a determined vigour, calling it to acts of resistance.

When men are set to thinking, they are addicted to carry their thinking out. Having once been led to question the *divine* right of kings, they next begin to discuss their *human* right; next, whether the blood that runs in the veins of a king is, physically or morally, or for any reasons, different from the blood that courses in the veins of any other man; and so on. Noble blood, too, what is that?—Can a man be born a king or a noble? The result of these cogitations, in the case of the Americans, is known. Having become somewhat enlightened, as they supposed, by these moral, physiological, and political inquiries, and having resolved, under what they deemed sufficient provocation, to strike for independence; they also resolved to make thorough work in this matter and doctrine of kings and nobles. They therefore abolished all these high and distinctive claims by a single word, “*equal*”—otherwise, *equality*. Such was the occasion, and such is the meaning, of this term in that instrument. Farther it goeth not, and comprehendeth no more. It ascended not to the heights of heaven; it went not down to the profundities of the abyss; it set upon no chase of a sublunary phantom; but seized upon a simple, palpable fact, and distilled out of it an abstract notion—a very practical one,

indeed, in this particular instance—and disposed of it by a summary process. Henceforth, a king cannot be acknowledged in America, either under divine or hereditary claims; nor can nobility assert its birthright privileges with any advantage, whatever else may come.

And now, forsooth, all men are equal in other respects! And the whole world is intoxicated and gone mad with the idea! How much trouble might be saved, and what infinite mischief prevented, by one question,—viz., What is meant by liberty and equality in the political charters of the age? We have seen what was meant in America; and very little more or else can have been intended anywhere else in the setting up of these claims.

What, then, are mankind in pursuit of, under the banner of liberty and equality, that they are ready to fight and die for them?—Mere phantoms! As for liberty, social and political, it can only operate in one form and in one direction,—that of my voice, by representation only, in company of the millions associated with me in the same manner represented, in making laws for our mutual government: otherwise, for our *subjection*. The rest is obedience, which is incumbent on me and upon all, in numberless forms and directions. All the rights of my fellow-beings are a proportionate abridgment of my rights—not to speak of the claims of my Creator.

But equality is a physical impossibility, except in the science of mathematics. There is no equality

in our physical structure and powers ; none in our intellectual and moral qualities and acquirements ; none in our social privileges, either as a fact or as practicable ; none in our wealth, or means of acquiring it ; none whatsoever that can be found or named among us, or between us. The law may assert an ideal equality, but it cannot create it. Even in the instrument which we have been reviewing, the declaration is a mere denial of a doctrine, touching a single point, supposed, and therefore assumed, to be false. God and Nature never intended equality, nor did society intend it ; and therefore it is impossible. To attempt to enforce it would be a great and flagrant violation of the rights of man, and the most tyrannical use of power that is recorded in history, on the most extensive scale.

What, then, becomes of this lofty, proud, passion-stirring, heaven-appealing claim of liberty and equality ? It is as good as ever, though not so valuable to the world as they who keep up the cry have imagined. At least, there is not so much in it ; nay, not but the smallest fraction—not even anything—of that which is commonly supposed to be conveyed by these terms. The charm is dissolved. Nevertheless, two pearls of great price lie discovered to the eye ; one for the constitutional monarchist, and two for the republican. The former thinks one only is valuable, and rejects the other : the latter would place little value upon the first without the second ;

may, he thinks the one cannot exist without the other—that they are twin-sisters, born, living, and dying together.

After all, however, it must be seen and confessed that the thing acquired is one of the greatest achievements in man's social condition: before, a tyrant could ride upon men's shoulders; now he cannot without a chance of being thrown off, to his own discomfort. And although the mass of mankind have not understood the reason of the jubilee, they have not rejoiced and sung in vain.

FANATICISM is the taking up of a notion, or principle, of religion, or of morals, or of the social state, or of any practical concern, that is competent to enlist feeling or rouse the passions, and carrying it out, as if there were no other consideration or principle to be respected or regarded—in the same manner as if one member of society should claim the right of trampling on all the rights of all other members of the community, for his own gratification. Principles—religious, moral, and social—are established for a society of principles, as moral agents are made for society, and for the same reasons. As men in society have less liberty than men in an isolated condition, because they are bound to respect the rights of their neighbours, and as their actions are modified and shaped variously, according to the extent and number of their relations, so is it with the principles which regulate their actions. Principles

are limited in their scope, and qualified in their action, by the claims and action of other principles; and no one may rightfully be carried into action at the expense of others. But a fanatic violates this rule, by taking up a principle which he supposes is right, and which possibly may be right, and carrying all before it. *Justitia fiat, ruat cœlum*—a very plausible maxim, and a good one in prudent hands; but in rash hands, though it cannot bring down the heavens, it may blow up the earth.

By allowing the claim of every principle that is entitled to influence in a bad state of society—and no matter how bad, if it could subsist in peace before—a reform may be carried on, without disturbing public tranquillity, as easily as the best state of society can be maintained in statu quo; at least, it may be done, in ordinary cases, without putting society in peril. But a fanatical reformer makes a club, or a battle-axe, or a battering-ram, of his hobby-horse principle, and would knock everything aside or down that may stand in his way, however sacred or excellent. With him consequence is nothing; *his* notion is everything.

RADICALISM is a form of fanaticism, generally identical, and rarely to be distinguished, perhaps never, inasmuch as fanaticism always proposes to have some good in view, as well as radicalism. As some one hath said of cant—rather extravagantly perhaps—“that it is a double-distilled lie, the second

power of a lie ;” so we may say of fanaticism, that it is double-distilled radicalism. Fanaticism generally has a spice of madness in it ; sometimes it is stark mad, and ought to be put in a strait jacket. Religious fanaticism is the maddest of all ; political, next.

Radicalism is no more confined to politics than is fanaticism, although that is the field where it is more commonly made conspicuous. It calls itself reform, and in great political parties it is sometimes found in the ranks of a needful and true reform. But it is always inclined to carry reform too fast and too far. It is a spirit of violence, which, while necessarily restrained, may be found in good company to-day ; but, if it should get the upper hand to-morrow, it will chance to be found in the front ranks of some mischievous enterprise, perhaps of rebellion and blood.

Radicalism is the breaker-down of old things, good or bad, and the good *with* the bad. This is its peculiar gift. In political society it requires the balance-wheel of conservatism. As all its zeal is applied to the go-ahead plan of reform, it has no principle of regulation or conservation in itself. The gift of prudence would neutralize its character, and might resolve its influence into the effect of a virtue. Radicalism bends all its forces to pull down. Consequently, it demands a balance-power to “ hold fast that which is good.”

POLITICS,—POLITICAL.—As these words, parti-

cularly the latter, are liberally used in this work, and in some instances, perhaps, applied out of the range of common usage, it may be proper to explain, not, as we should hope, that it is necessary to satisfy or assist the intelligent reader, but to prevent any perversions of the author's meaning. Policy, as is well known, may have a commendable meaning, or the opposite ; it may be an attribute of the worst, or of the best minds ; it may characterize the operations of a good, or of a bad cause ; it may be a selfish rule only, or it may be used within the bounds of fairness.

The term *politics*, as we need not say, comprehends the principles and tactics of the sciences, and is applicable to any system of operations in state, in any association whatever, in plans of business, and in individual schemes. In common use, however, it applies to affairs of state. The term will be found in these pages in a more elevated and philosophical sphere, irrespective of common usage.

The term *political* is in frequent use, extending to all the varieties and to the widest range of its significations, easily determined, however, as we trust, by its connexions in particular instances. We have found it convenient to use this licence, in order to reach and sustain the philosophy of the subjects to which it is applied, trusting that it will rather assist than embarrass discrimination, notwithstanding we have feared the reader would sometimes pause to consider the propriety of the application.

On the whole, however, it is presumed his assent will be gained, and that he will feel himself introduced, if not to a field of thought in some respects new, yet intelligible, and, it is hoped, in a measure satisfactory.

POLITICAL RIGHTS is a phrase of considerable consequence in this work, and may claim a particular explanation. A political right may be a moral wrong, and yet it may claim our respect; not for itself, but for the place which it occupies in the social edifice. It cannot be treated as we would treat it apart from such relations. We cannot lay violent hands upon it, to tear it from its place, lest we injure or pull down the building of which it is a part; but the removal of it must be a careful and prudent work.

Political rights are properly powers and privileges awarded to one community by the consent or sanction of another, or of others; by the right of usage, corresponding with the right of property vested by possession; and these rights may descend to individuals, still leaving the character of political, in consideration of the mode by which, and the channel through which, they have been acquired. Still they may be moral usages, or they may not be. And although they are in some instances of the former character, it may be convenient and best for society that they should be tolerated till a safe remedy can be applied. It is expedient that society in its structure should be

regarded as sacred, and not be treated with violence, though in some things it may be wrong. Law is law, till it can be regularly, and, if possible, quietly annulled. Hence the technical phrase—*political rights*—rights conventional, and established in the relations of communities to each other, or by their own internal regulations.

CHAPTER II.

THE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN
SOCIETY.

THE political organization of American society cannot receive a name descriptive of itself. It was not formed by grant from a superior power, but by delegation and composition from the popular mass. The process was that of consolidation ; yet it is not a consolidated government, in the usual and technical sense of the term, except in certain specific and limited degrees. The first and smallest civil division, with incorporated privileges and political powers, is that of townships ; in some of the states, counties. Here is the most limited action of American republicanism, and the basis of republican empire, as it exists in America. Here is its germ, its cradle, its school. Within these limits the American is perfectly at home, and by action here qualifies himself for a more extended sphere. Here he gets the idea of political rights and social privileges. The townships—or, including those States where counties are the smallest civil divisions, the townships and counties—are the primal political unities, and so many integral parts of the common-

wealth. From these sources spring up all the powers of the state. We are not at this moment speaking of the composition of the republic, as a whole, but of the States into which it is divided. The legislative assembly of a State, being composed of a representation from the primal sources, as another and grand political unity, extends its jurisdiction over all these integral portions for general and state purposes, guaranteeing the rights of the townships and counties, and securing to them other and higher privileges, in consideration of which, these original powers consent to share in the burdens of the commonwealth. All the acts of the State are the acts of their representatives ; and the State jurisdiction is mediately their own creation. All the political power of the state, if we inquire into its history, resolves itself into these sources, and is composed of these original elements ; so composed, that the authority which delegates always maintains a control over the power delegated.

In consequence of the powers delegated by the several States which compose the American Union, for the formation of a general government, the action of the States respectively is not visible to the world ; and yet it is to be observed that these commonwealths constitute the basis, the body, and, comprehensively, the power, of the republic. Politically, and in regard to the rest of the world, they appear to lie in silent grandeur and in deep repose. They have no action that is apparent be-

yond the bounds of the Union ; and yet they constitute American society in its basis and main body.

Within the jurisdiction of the several States the general government has no action, except for national purposes. These, indeed, are numerous, but very inadequate for the objects and necessities of government. The general government acts not upon individuals, except for certain specific purposes ; neither does it extend to municipal affairs within the bounds of the States. The territory, within these limits, is sacred to the authority of the States alone. It is their province to sustain all government that is proper to any State, so far as it does not interfere with the powers and objects of the general government, which are comparatively few, and so distinctly defined and well settled as to leave no occasion, or rarely an occasion, of doubt. And in case of collision, the Supreme Court of the United States is the final umpire. The difference may be comprehensively stated thus : For all national purposes, as specified in the constitution, the general government is supreme and sovereign ; for all municipal purposes, the States respectively, within their own limits, are sovereign, and competent to support their authority by the customary powers of a State. They lack nothing of the entire economy of a State, except the powers delegated to the general government. As subjects of law, the citizens of the several States are but little sensible of the action of the general government. All their

civil relations are with another power. It is the national government that makes an impression on the world ; and the State governments principally that act on American citizens.

Here, then, are twenty-six republics, sustaining a complete polity for all domestic purposes, independent and sovereign in all these particulars, but having no foreign relations, and exhibiting to the world none of the usual demonstrations of national importance.

But where is the nation—the great republic? and how is the general government composed? By the federal constitution—and what is that? It is a summary of powers, delegated originally by the States in General Convention, for federal and national purposes, having a palpable, prescribed, and definite form.* It is not, like the British constitution, composed of the history of the government, being a kind of state common-law established by a series and sum of precedents, liable to change by the arbitrary action of the government, and thus identified with the government itself; but it is strictly a charter, constituting the foundation, and from which emanates the authority of government.

A constitution like that of Great Britain—if, indeed, it can with propriety be called a constitution†—is much more efficient for a consolidated state, and can at any time be adapted to present exigencies. But, in the formation of the American

* Note D.

† Note E.

constitution, it was necessary to consider that the government in contemplation was to be delegated and federal ; and consequently must be a government of limited and definite powers. But the American Union is not a mere league : it will be found to be consolidated and indissoluble—indissoluble as to its provisions. “ In all our deliberations on this subject we kept steadily in our view that which appears to us the greatest interest of every true American, the *consolidation* of the Union, in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, &c. There are four things which I humbly conceive are essential to the well-being, I may even venture to say, to the existence, of the United States as an independent power :—1. *An indissoluble Union* of the States under one *federal head*,” &c. Such is the language of Washington, President of the Convention which framed the constitution, whose counsels were pre-eminently influential at the time ; such was the design, and such the fact.

The composition of the general government, as prescribed by the constitution, is directly, though not in all its parts immediately, from the voice of the people *en masse*, as citizens of the United States, and not as citizens of the States respectively. In regard to the appointment of the executive, the people choose the College of Electors, who give their votes for President and Vice-President. The lower House of Congress is chosen immediately by the people, as the component body of the Union.

The senate, indeed, is appointed by the legislatures of the States, two for each, an exception to the rule of consolidation, and a sort of balance-power against the excessive influence of such a determination. Senators, however, in their place, act as officers of the United States. The Judiciary is appointed by the President and Senate, a third remove from the people, but on the same principle; and so, also, all the subsidiary officers of the government, a part being commissioned by the executive, and part by the executive and Senate united. All the authorities of the nation are the powers of a unit, in distinction from a representation that acts for a league.

The Congress of the United States are invested by the constitution with sovereign and exclusive powers over taxation for national purposes; to establish duties, imposts, and excises; to borrow money on the credit of the nation; to regulate commerce, foreign and domestic; to determine the mode of naturalization, and laws of bankruptcy; to coin money and regulate its value; to fix the standard of weights and measures; to establish post-offices and post-roads; to secure copyrights and patents; to punish piracies on the high seas, and offences against the laws of nations; to declare war and make peace; to raise and support armies, and a navy; to call out the militia of the Union, when their service may be required; and to make all laws "necessary and proper" to carry into execution these powers. These being exclusive

powers in and over the Union, and for all purposes necessarily implied, domestic and foreign, they of course involve a strong and comprehensive system of consolidation ; and the longer the system is in use, the more effectual, naturally, will be its operation to this end, all extraordinary occurrences and influences out of the way. The exclusive investment of these powers in the general government, denying to the States the rights of maintaining public troops or a navy in a time of peace, and constituting the President of the United States commander-in-chief over the army and navy and over the militia when called into service, are sufficient evidence of an intention to disqualify the States for separate and independent action in these national concerns ; and it is, in fact, a most effectual disqualification.

Nevertheless, the States are jealous for their own rights, and have their interest in maintaining them. One of the Articles of the National Constitution reads thus:—"The powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

It will be seen, therefore, that the several commonwealths composing the American Union remain possessed of all powers usually exercised by sovereign states, except those which have been delegated to the general government by the constitution, or prohibited to the States by that instru-

ment. The line of demarcation between the powers thus delegated and prohibited, and the powers retained is, therefore, distinctly drawn.

The powers of the federal constitution, being essential for national purposes, have not lain dormant ; and, in some instances, which could not be foreseen, there have transpired very imperative occasions in the exigencies of the nation, and for the promotion of national objects, to employ powers not delegated by the constitution. No attempts, however, have been made in Congress to legislate beyond these limits, except under the doctrine of *construction* and *implication*, and of a species of power called *incidental*. Implied and incidental powers have been sustained by the national judiciary, which is the appointed interpreter of the constitution ; but on the ground that they must be *necessarily* implied, and *obviously* incidental. There has been much debate, however, and much vacillation of opinion, in Congress, and in the public generally, on the subject of these incidental and implied powers ; and a variety of legislative practice, at one time enacting, and at another annulling, solemn decisions of momentous consequence. The niceties and difficulties of these questions, the scrupulousness that has been manifested in regard to them by Congress, by the successive executives—in some instances, we fear, affected,—and by the judiciary, may go to show that all the other parts of the constitution, where these questions cannot arise, are held in respect ; and that

the jealousy of the States, and of other important interests always represented in the General Government, is likely to take care, at least to endeavour, that no powers not delegated by the Constitution shall be exercised by the national authorities.*

It will be seen, therefore, that the General Government can never meddle with the internal polity of a State, any farther than it is licensed by the Constitution. On the other hand, the national Constitution being declared and acknowledged as the supreme law of the land, the civil oath of the high public functionaries of the respective States involves allegiance; first, to the Constitution and laws of the United States, and next to those of the particular Commonwealths, whose officers they are, and it is generally prescribed and administered in this double form; and every State is prohibited by this supreme law from any legislation that shall be contrary to it, or that may interfere with its operation. The National Judiciary is competent, when called upon, to sit in judgment on the acts of Congress, and of the Legislatures of the several States, and on the acts of all public officers, whether of the nation or of the States, in all matters having a relation to the national Constitution. This Court, therefore, which is the creature of the Constitution, can determine what it is, and what it is not, in detail. It is the High Court of the nation, and the last appeal as interpreter of the Constitution.

* Note F.

The remark of Blackstone, that " there must be a place somewhere in all governments for the lodgment of absolute despotic (more mildly, supreme) power," does not apply to the Government of the United States in its constitutional form. The reasons are, first, because the Constitution, which occupies the nominal place of supreme law, and is such for the time being, is not the subject of parliamentary action, but the rule. The administration of the Government is also subject to it. The Judiciary is the only department of Government that is competent to take the Constitution in hand, and that only to decide what it is, in relation to cases brought before it, demanding such action ; and to the Judiciary, also, it presents itself as a rule. The Constitution is, therefore, above the Government in all its forms of action ; but the Constitution is not above change, and the agency by which it can be changed, is entirely distinct from that by which it is maintained, and whose action it is designed to control, while controlling the public ; and the moment this agency has ceased to act upon the Constitution in the way of changing it, it ceases to exist, and is resolved into elements subjected to the Constitution in its altered form, but may again be organized for the same office, originating in causes independent of the Constitution, though according to its prescribed forms.

The powers of American society, therefore, are a circle ; there is no *ne plus ultra* in the round of their

operation. The Judiciary itself is liable to judgment and control by the popular will, as the rule by which it acts is liable at any time to fall into popular hands, and may be assumed by the people for modification ; after which it falls back again into the hands of the Judiciary, or rather takes up its position as the rule of this Court, so long as they shall apply it satisfactorily ; otherwise, it is still and ever liable to be remodelled. There is, therefore, no supreme power in such a state of society. Whether this be a perfection, or a defect, there may be a difference of opinion ; we are at present concerned only with the fact. " All human power," says M. Guizot, " bears within itself an innate vice, a principle of weakness, a facility of being abused, which renders it necessary that some check should be imposed."

We have had occasion to refer to a very important and practical point in the political organization of the American republic, viz., the line of separation between the constitutional powers of the States united and of the States severally. The General Government, in all its branches, is composed of men, who commenced their political career in the primal sources of the powers with which they are invested, who are liable at any day to be thrown back upon the same ground, and a large portion of whom must, as a matter of course, return to it. Their earliest impressions and strongest prejudices are on the side of political rights in the narrower circles, first, of

the townships, and next, of the larger political spheres. Their families, their estates, and their civil relations, are, perhaps, for the most part, still lodged in the minor corporations. In the school of political education and practice, through which they have passed, they have been well acquainted with the jealousy of these minor powers, and with the unyielding tenacity with which they held on to their political rights. All their interests, therefore, social, civil, and political, and a consideration of the high powers with which, for the time being, they are invested,—if they desire the continued use of them by the only tenure on which they can be retained—impel them to guard and defend the political prerogatives of the minor spheres, from the lowest to the highest, from the narrowest to the most extended; and to watch and maintain the former with a vigilance and determination corresponding with the knowledge of the fact, that they are the basis of the great political fabric, and the source of all its influence. The very officers of the General Government, therefore, are the persons, of all others, most deeply interested in maintaining the Constitutional rights of the States, and of all the minor political corporations.

Hence we see, that however motives may sometimes present themselves to ambitious individuals, who are in charge of high and influential departments of the Government, and who may have acquired an accidental ascendancy, to transcend the

powers of the Constitution, yet the motives which usually govern mankind, and which are likely to operate on the great majority of the officers and agents of Government, are on the side of popular rights in the smaller circles, and of the political rights of the several Commonwealths. The grand moral tendency, therefore, of the political organization of the United States, is, not to increase the power and influence of the General Government, but to hold it in check by the most rigid construction of the Constitution, and by the narrowest application of its powers. And such in fact has been the history of American politics.

CHAPTER III.

AMERICAN SOCIETY A DYNASTY OF OPINION.

By a dynasty of opinion, we mean, a preponderance of influence that is wielded by the activities of the social state, over the constitutional fabric of social institutions. The repeated, not to say, habitual developments of this feature, in the action of American society, have already made their impression on the world, although the cause is a secret, the philosophy hidden. Whether, indeed, we have been successful in giving it a name, can only be determined by the impression which the reading of this chapter shall make on the minds of others. We have observed a predominant influence of this kind operating in so many forms, and producing such uniform results in American society, as to indicate a character, a habit ; and have, therefore, thought proper to give our own idea a palpable shape, and to make a few remarks upon it.

European society, in respect to this feature, is more under the control of ancient institutions, and of an ancient order of things. It is comparatively mechanical in its structure and operations. The

public mind is cast in a mould, that has been prepared for it from time immemorial. Usage is the law of such a state of things ; and the main force of legislation, and of government, in all its forms, is applied to the maintenance of usage. The innovations of experiment, in the ordering of society, are objects of dread ; at least, are ventured upon with diffidence and caution. It is true, that the spirit of innovation is abroad, as the schoolmaster is said to be ; and mind is on the march—whither, it might be difficult to say. Nevertheless, there is a something in the general action of society, called “ the march of mind,” and, “ the spirit of the age ;” the last of which, if we mistake not, was once tossed into the British House of Lords by Earl Grey, Prime Minister, as a thing worthy of some notice.

These, indeed, are somewhat mysterious and cabalistic phrases, and susceptible of a variety of interpretation, as is the talismanic couple of “ liberty and equality ;” and like the latter, they are supposed to have a great deal of meaning, and actually wield a large share of influence.

But the schoolmaster of Europe has, as yet, done much less than the schoolmaster of America ; and the march of mind, in the former quarter of the world, has been more effectually repressed than in the latter. All is bound up and circumscribed in an artificial state of society, which has, indeed, been shaken, and to some extent dissolved and reconstructed. But all the violent changes that have

taken place, have very naturally reverted to, and superinduced, a condition of things after the old model, sometimes worse, and sometimes, it may be, better. What France has gained, or is likely to gain in the end, by this process, is even yet problematical; and after an age of overturn and ravage, which Europe has suffered in consequence of the great French revolution of the last century, her states and empires are seeking repose again under the shadow and protection of her ancient institutions, or something as much like them, as may be convenient to re-establish. The old regime is fighting for its rights, and yields only to such modifications as are unavoidable.

All we mean, however, by these remarks, is to represent, that the old forms of society in Europe are strong; and that the mind of man is constrained to act somewhat mechanically by reason of their force. It cannot break through them; it cannot trample them under foot; it may alter and modify; but still the ancient edifice stands in all its principal parts. Though portions of it be undermined, or so battered as to tumble to the ground, the same timbers and stones are necessarily snatched from the ruins, and put together again. In other words, in Europe, ancient institutions, though disturbed, and in some respects modified, still maintain their supremacy over modern innovations, and law over opinion; or opinion is subjected to law, however it may often play rampant and show discontent.

But in America, the ancient regimen of Europe as to its grand characteristics and fundamental principles, has been entirely subdued. Not a vestige of the monarchical, or of the hereditary aristocratic, remains. The revolution in society has been a complete upturn and overturn ; and the whole of the new fabric has been based on the popular or democratic principle. The most perfect freedom of popular opinion has been admitted as a fundamental and all pervading element of the social state ; and what is more, popular opinion reigns supreme and absolute. It is above law ; it is law itself. Antiquity is nothing, and usage is nothing, when it comes in conflict with this power.

Nevertheless, it would be an unfair representation of American society, to say, that this power operates generally in a manner unfavourable to public order and tranquillity ; or that it is in the habit of doing violence to the works of its own creation, in that constitution of society which it has established. It is an attribute of this power to show respect to its own productions, for the reason that they are its own ; and no people in the world are probably greater lovers of order in society, than the Americans ; although, it must be confessed, their manner of showing it may seem a contradiction, and rather incomprehensible. They are excitable, quick in action, and sometimes run riot in their demonstrations of conscious freedom ; but respect for the law soon returns with its influence, if there be any thing in the

law worthy of respect ; and, if not, they will instruct the legislative power by their votes to remedy the defect. They have no motive wantonly to triumph upon law, so long as they can at any time alter it to suit their own wishes.

While, however, opinion generally supports the law, and is in favour of order, it is perfectly conscious of its own mastery over such restraints. It is not insensible that it has made the law, arms it, and imparts to it all its efficiency ; and that it can change it at pleasure. It has no fear of a remote, elevated, and potent agency, called government, and independent of itself, that may claim authority to rebuke, or assert the power to suppress its action.

This conscious freedom and power of opinion, has given a character to the American mind, that is peculiar. It has increased its activity, and rendered it exceedingly prolific of results, individually and in its combined action. The proof of this character is abundant in all the variety of private pursuits, in religion, in politics, in every thing. The moment a foreigner plants his foot on the American shores, he is amazed at the bustle and activity of the people. If he enters the marts of trade, he will see it there. In the streets of the city he beholds the moving throngs on a half trot, each darting his own way, and absorbed in his own thoughts, as if overtaken by some sudden impulse ; and he may be thankful, if he does not get run over by some furious driver of an omnibus, or cart, or by a horse under a saddle.

If he enters the public conveyances by steam-boats, stage-coaches, or rail-road trains, a large part of the population seem to be on the move ; and they are sure to crowd the most rapid line, despite of the horrible tale of accidents, which may have come to their ears on the eve of their departure.*

If the stranger goes to the polls on the days of election, all the world is there, and in a foam of political excitement ; if to a military review, or to a Fourth-of-July fête, the world is there, and all enthusiasm ; if to the theatre, they are there, clapping and cheering the new-fledged, or favourite star ; if to the church, or meeting-house, they are in good earnest at their devotions, or the preacher well-engaged with anxious emphasis ; if to the manufactory, his ears are dinned with its unceasing noise ; if to the field of husbandry, there is sweat and toil ; if to the back-woods, there is the sound of the axe, and the crash of the falling trees ; and westward the population rolls, to take possession of the wilderness, and to build new towns and cities. The school-boy, the college-student, the lawyer, the doctor, the parson, the mechanic, the farmer, the tradesman, the merchant, the politician, the statesman, the magistrate, the maid and the housewife — all are busy. One unceasing round of activity in every place, and in every occupation, from the Atlantic shores to the Rocky Mountains,

* Note G.

and from Nova Scotia to Florida, will meet the stranger's eye.

And withal there is much talk, and much reading of books and newspapers ; there is much thinking and discussion on all subjects pertaining to this life and the future. The mind of this mass is ever-stirring : it is mind that incites to this wide-spread and mighty movement ; and the result is individual prosperity, individual wealth, and individual power ; and the aggregate, national prosperity, national wealth, and national power.

There is indeed, no inconsiderable subtraction to be made from these benefits, private and public, by a consideration of that reckless enterprise which necessarily attaches itself to such a giddy whirl, and to such celerity of an onward movement. But after all, the products are great, incalculable. If a man does not always work to his own advantage, it may be to the profit of his neighbour and the public. Labour is performed, and the product abides. Sometimes, indeed, it is lost labour, or worse than lost ; but generally, profit accrues to somebody. A company builds a road or a manufactory, a line of steam-boats or packet-ships, or a canal ; works mines of coal or beds of ore, or digs for the precious metals ; and if these stocks should be depressed, and fall into other hands, the works remain, and are productive. The same may be said of individual enterprise.

The ruins of the great fire in New York, in

December, 1835, which carried along in its train many of the insurance offices, were almost instantly repaired ; and but for the subsequent and accidental derangement of the monetary system in America, and the shock thereby done to credit, the indomitable enterprise of the New York merchants would have sustained it without apparent injury. It is true, indeed, that the railroads, canals, and other public improvements but lately in such rapid progress, have been put in momentary check by the universal calamity that has befallen the credit system ; but it is expected that the characteristic activity and energies of the country will soon impart to them their former spirit.

But let us look to the effects of this activity, in its combined action, as it bears on the social institutions of the country. Take, for example, the democratic feeling of the Americans, in relation to the powers and operation of their own government. The Confederation of 1777, under which the war of the Revolution was brought to a close, was superseded by the Federal Constitution in 1789. This was, in many respects, a strong government ; in others, weak ; but in none could it fairly be called democratic. It was framed by men who foresaw the tendency of the public mind towards democracy, and who purposely constructed this instrument to arrest the downward progress, and to prevent American society from descending to the lowest democratic level. They were evidently afraid of

this result. The views which had most influence over the Convention of the States, to which was entrusted this important and momentous function, may be found in a notable collection of papers, published at the time in a series, and called the *Federalist*. The Government of the United States, therefore, as *constituted*, is properly republican, but not democratic in the lower sense of this term.

It may be seen, then, that the actual administration of the Government, under such a Constitution, was not only susceptible of a character different from that which generally belongs to the history of its operation, but that it was intended to be different. In other words, the dynasty of opinion has triumphed over the constitutional fabric of the institution, and moulded the administration of the Government to its own will. On the contingency of a favourable prevalent opinion, the United States might have had a high and strong federal government, corresponding with the intention, powers, and fair construction of the Constitution ; but they have actually had a democratic government.

In the early history of the American Government arose the two great parties of Federal and Democratic, General Washington himself at the head of the former, and Thomas Jefferson at the head of the latter. Washington, however, from the universal respect entertained for his character, and from gratitude for his services to the State, has escaped the odium that fell on the Federalists, though he did not

retire from public life without aspersion. Nor did Washington and Jefferson, to any notable extent, appear in open field against each other. There was a sacredness about the character of Washington, and a purity generally awarded to his motives, which shielded him from public hostility,—allowed him quietly to vacate his place at the head of the nation, and to die universally honoured and lamented. It may be said, indeed, that the two great parties were not properly organised in his day. But when his successor, the elder Adams, came to the government, the contest began, and Jefferson was in the field.

Jefferson is commonly called the father of American democracy. He was certainly its great leader; but its paternity lies farther back. It was the genius of the people, as formed by the circumstances of their history. It only required an open, unobstructed field, and an organizer. The first was provided in the establishment of American independence; and the latter, in the talents and tact of Thomas Jefferson.

Jefferson occupied an elevated position, highly advantageous for influence; and he was an arch politician, a practical statesman, and a sage. He saw the temper of the American people, lifted the standard of democracy, and drew the nation after him. From that moment, the history of the American republic has presented the singular spectacle of a republican Constitution, imposing salutary checks

on the popular will, and on all branches of the Government ; and yet, the popular will in the shape of a dynasty of opinion, has habitually triumphed over these provisions. The Government has been republican in form, but democratic in fact ; and the all ruling element of democracy has been constantly increasing in power and efficiency.

‘It is true, indeed, that the Constitution has presented a strong barrier to the operation and progress of this power, as it has been explained and defended in the national counsels, and elsewhere, by the opposing party ; and also, as guarded by the shield of the national judiciary. But, in every great pinch, the Constitution has been forced to bend to this antagonist power, and sometimes to give way.

Ordinarily, it might be supposed, that a government is dissolved, when the charter by which it is sworn to regulate itself, is disregarded, or set aside at will. There are, however, degrees of such violence. In public, as well as in private conduct, mistakes and false steps, and even outrages on morality and social order, may be committed, not without injury, but yet without absolute ruin. Such is the checkered history of individuals and of nations. Such evils are often susceptible of being repaired, and the conduct of private life, or of public affairs, as the case may be, may be again set in order.

The victorious party in a state will, of course, deny the violence charged upon them, the vanquished are compelled to submit, and make the best

of their defeat, while both, it may be, profess respect for the Constitution, and the nation goes on under its rule, acknowledging its authority. Such, hitherto, has been the fact in America.

This great spectacle of the almost uninterrupted supremacy of American democracy, under a constitution and frame of society, intended, and in itself, calculated, to check and control it, is the most prominent and comprehensive instance of that dynasty of opinion which it is the design of this chapter to represent, and which, as we think, wields such a preponderance of influence over the social institutions of the country, forcing them to bend and be accommodated to its will.

American society is eminently disposed to innovation and experiment. And the creative power of the American mind, its love of novelty, its sanguine temperament, its quickness, and its proneness to intensity of exercise, render it extremely liable to the adoption of unsound and hazardous theories, of fanatical opinions, and of empirical practices. It is astonishing to observing minds, how easily new opinions are propagated, and what a sudden empire of influence they often attain to. Politics, religion, social order, and all departments of business, are ever liable to these invasions, bating a general tendency to radicalism. This one vital principle is uniform in its operation.

The Americans, having once broke loose from ancient usages in regard to certain items, got up the

right, and claimed the privilege, of establishing an order of things in some respects new. Democracy was at the bottom of the movement, and pervaded the work. Consequently, the habit of doing grew into a permanent and fixed character inclined to do; and from that day onward, the American people, knowing and feeling themselves to be the authors of law, are accustomed to take the liberty of altering it, and sometimes of adapting it to present exigencies, before it can be altered. Like the horse that takes the bit in his teeth, defying the hand which vainly attempts to check his way; like the ocean wave that rolls onward by its own irresistible momentum;—so a people of such habits will sometimes take the law into their own hands, and run riot in the extemporaneous use of their original powers. Hence Lynch-law and mob-rule, which may be practised with impunity, when they happen to anticipate the will of the people in an opinion already formed. For the sake of order, however, and to assert the supremacy of law, these practices are of course reprobated, at the same that there is a secret understanding and silent acquiescence, by a sort of instinctive sympathy, pervading the public mind, though not openly expressed.*

Nor can the influence of this all-pervading power of opinion be kept out of the legal profession or the courts of justice. Pressed on all hands and from all points by its action, they cannot avoid it, how-

* Note H.

ever they may desire to do so ; and, notwithstanding they are supposed and affect to be governed by the *lex scripta*, they are borne on the bosom of an imperceptible tide, like a ship on the gulf stream, which may seem to be acted upon only by the wind that fills the sails. The lawyer consults his tomes, reads his authorities, and brings out his facts ; the court delivers its opinion, or its sentence ; the jury return with their verdict ;—all in the presence and under the hints of this all-seeing and ever-watchful power. The advocate, the jurymen, and the judge, are launched on the same current and borne away in company.

There may be more of peril, or less of safety, in such an action of society ; but there is more of mind. Errors may be committed ; and so also the ends of society may be attained by a shorter course. It is not simply the keeping in order and working a constituted machinery, but it is subtracting and superinducing parts while it is in operation, without retarding, if, peradventure, it can be done, without deranging, its movements. It must be admitted that it requires a quick perception and a skilful hand. As to the wisdom and expediency of such an order of things, we are not here concerned to speak, but only to notice facts. Opinion in America is dominant—dominant over law, and dominant over the whole machinery of society.

European communities are under a comparatively sluggish regimen. Ordinarily, the older the

custom, and the more ancient the rule, the greater is its validity. It acquires sacredness by time and protracted use—a legitimate consequence, as cannot be denied. But the leap, the bound, which American society took, in its infancy, from such an atmosphere, was sufficient to cast it for ever beyond its ruling influences. The quality of sacredness in American feeling has lost one of its main attributes—at least in regard to the matter under consideration—viz., that of antiquity; and is embodied in the idea of utility. The American mind, having once taken the liberty to inquire into the *cui bono* of things, has become enamoured of the pursuit, and is for ever on the chase, apparently increasing in rapidity by the habit of exercise. No matter where a thing, a custom, a law, or a principle, comes from—whether from the remotest period of man's history, or from heaven itself—there must be a satisfactory reason, resulting from a consideration of its intrinsic value and practical importance, to insure its adoption. And no matter how long a law may have been in operation, the moment it is judged to be good for nothing, or positively bad, its authority expires. True, the administration of courts may support it in form, if necessary and unavoidable, till it can be formally annulled; unless it be so obnoxious that the people, *en masse*, should think fit to suspend its operation.

This *en masse* popular licence, at one moment suspending the operation of the laws, and at another

apparently trampling them under foot, we are quite aware, may seem in the eye of foreigners an inexplicable mystery in American society. In European communities, it has generally been deemed necessary to visit such outbreaks with exemplary and signal penalties, for the future security and well-being of the community. But it is to be considered, that, in America, it is the law-making power that resolves upon and executes this extemporaneous process; whereas, in Europe, it may be the germ of a revolution, or itself a revolution. In America, it is the momentary expression of the popular will, in anticipation of its legislative functions; and then it dies away into a calm. There is no motive to extreme violence, because a democracy has everything in its power; and it fears nothing, because there is nothing to fear. Whereas, in monarchical countries, where the constant presence of an armed force gives token of the power that supports it, and of the retribution that awaits disturbers of the peace, there is no hope of retiring from such a field of action with impunity. It is victory or death; despair arms itself with resolution.

It is a principle of American democracy to have as little government as possible, and none where none is necessary. Hence popular disturbances are often permitted to exhaust themselves without encountering government; and the remedy is applied by bringing the ringleaders to account before the civil tribunals. If any very alarming and de-

structive violence is threatened, it may be necessary for government to display its front on the instant; but it is more often wanted in a time of need than obtruded unnecessarily. Americans are averse to the presence of government, and wish to see it as seldom as possible. A man might travel through the United States, visit all the chief cities, and the capital of the nation, and not know there is such a thing as government in the land, except as he takes up a newspaper, or hears conversation on politics. This, indeed, might be set down as a proud feature of a great nation—a triumph of civilization, where the silent majesty and all-pervading power of law sit enthroned in the public conscience, with no visible arm, nor even a symbol of authority, to support it! Happy, if the republicanism of America could for ever maintain such a peaceful sway!

Such a wide-spread subordination to law and order, with the absence of all displays of power to support it, could never have been brought about, except by a popular education as comprehensive as the scene itself. This is one of the bright features of American society. But along with this fact comes a necessary evil, that every man, woman, and child must be a politician—just enough of a politician, to fulfil his or her part in this great drama that is enacted under the influence of opinion; and therefore, just enough to be not altogether agreeable, and to detract so much from the best qualifi-

cations for the more retired and quiet relations of life. Better and happier, some would say, for a people to be governed without knowing how or by whom they are governed, than to have their minds so occupied with affairs of State, with the one idea of self-government, as to divest man of his most useful character by tempting him into the field of fierce debate ; as to rob woman of her loveliness, by inviting her to take part in masculine discussions, and children of their guileless simplicity by enforcing prematurely on their attention the science of politics. Such, to a great extent, is the unavoidable effect of that political education that is indispensable to all classes of a self-governed people. They must be trained to it from the cradle ; it must go into all schools ; it must thoroughly leaven the national literature ; it must be “ line upon line, precept upon precept, here a little and there a little ;” it must be sung, discoursed, and thought upon, everywhere and by everybody ; all must be politicians, all statesmen, all jurists. It is little wonder that a foreigner, who, in his own country, had been accustomed to see every one minding his own business, should imagine, on arriving in America, that everybody had got out of place, and taken on himself the affairs of the nation. But such is one of the features of a democratic republic.

A dynasty of opinion, like that which reigns in America, is unfavourable to a constitutional government, and naturally leads to frequent, and, some-

times, to disastrous changes. Stability must be allowed to be one of the attributes of a good government, and of good society; and we suppose that one of the chief purposes of a national constitution and of a legislation based upon it, is to secure this end. But for the bulwark of fundamental law, and the security of those regulations that grow out of it, a popular or democratic government would be the worst and most dangerous of all governments. It would be strictly extemporaneous; in other words, it would be falling back towards a state of barbarism. In a large community it would be utterly impracticable, and is fit only for the habits of the aboriginal tribes of North America.

And yet we have known the startling doctrine advanced, by very high American authority, that the popular will for the time being—meaning, of course, the majority of voices—is the Constitution, and, consequently, the supreme law of the land! If we rightly interpret this notion in its bearings, the Constitution has no binding force, and is a nullity; legislators are not to consult the charter, but the popular will; in other words, whatever laws they may please to enact, which are not disagreeable to their constituents, are constitutional.

We know, indeed, that there is a power vested in the American people, by the provisions of the Constitution, to alter and amend that instrument; but it requires *two-thirds* of both Houses of Congress, or the Legislatures of *two-thirds* of all the


States, even to *propose* an amendment, which can be ratified only by the Legislatures, or by Conventions of *three-fourths* of all the States—a severe and circuitous ordeal, demanding the lapse of years for its consummation—a sufficient time, and a course of action and debate in the higher regions of society, sufficiently extended to bar the danger of precipitation, or the control of a hastily-formed popular will.

We think, therefore, that the distance is heaven-wide between this rule and that which identifies the popular will for the time being with the Constitution; and that the wisdom of the framers of the Constitution, and of the States in ratifying it, appears in nothing more eminent than in this cautious and well-considered provision. In the other case, the Constitution is a mere nullity; because, in the first place, the popular will, intelligibly expressed, might at any time set it aside, and would, in fact, do so in the very act of expression. And next, the will of the National Legislature in a majority of voices, with the concurrence of the President, and the silent consent of the people, would have the same effect; and this would be a dynasty of opinion in verity, and against all law, constitutional and other.

But the great struggle in America, and that on which the fate of the Republic is suspended, is between the Constitution and the Democracy. The Constitution is the bulwark of the nation's safety; but the dynasty of opinion is perpetually assailing it;

and whether the Constitution will yet give way altogether, and totter, and fall to the ground, remains to be proved.

Moreover, this government of opinion, in distinction from the government of law, is necessarily feeble, in consideration of the fact, that a concurrence of accidents may contribute to form a prevailing popular sentiment to-day, which another train of accidents may sweep away to-morrow, and in place thereof establish an opposite opinion. We are aware, indeed, that one of the doctrines of the most thorough-going American democracy, is, that the people must always be right. Technically, in the sense which we suppose is intended, viz., the rightful supremacy of the majority, this may be true. But they may change from right to right too frequently to be comfortable or beneficial, when led away or acted upon by bad influences or unfortunate accidents. Nevertheless, in a government like that of America, there is no remedy, except in enlightening the people, and inculcating upon them the importance of adhering to fixed principles of government, when once established with good reason; and of avoiding frequent and great changes. Every government has its difficulties to contend with, and none, perhaps, more than that which is swayed by a dynasty of opinion. Such a power is a strong supporter of law, when law is agreeable to it; but when law is disagreeable, it blinks at no barrier, and halts at no impediment. It is impatient



of control, and too frequently anticipates the authority of legislation.

It will be asked, then, with reason, What security has the world for the stability of the American Government and of its institutions? The honest answer to which is, None but the chances of such a state of things. And the contingencies, too, are greatly multiplied by considerations not yet brought under review. We pretend not to the endowments of prophecy. Our object is to present the picture fairly, and leave those who look upon it to their own conclusions.

It may, however, be remarked, that the prospects are not so dubious, nor so much on the dark side, as the first view of a state of society like that we have been reviewing in this chapter, might seem to indicate. The workings of American society constitute a problem, which cannot easily be solved by remote observers. The temper of the people and the constitutional fabric of the Government must be well considered; and whether, on the whole, the latter is competent to regulate the former in its restive and fitful mood, to recover it from its eccentric and wayward movements, and to subdue and bridle its occasional outbreaks.

Obviously, there are two capital conservative elements indispensable to the permanency of the American Government and its institutions, in this present form: education and religion, both of which are too much neglected by the Government. Edu-

cation, indeed, has received some care and patronage ; but by no means proportionate to the importance of the subject. And as for religion, it is left to take care of itself. "Despotism," says De Tocqueville, "may govern without faith ; but liberty cannot. Religion is much more necessary in a republic than in a monarchy—in democratic republics than in any others. How is it possible that society should escape destruction, if the moral tie be not strengthened in proportion as the political tie is relaxed ? And what can be done with a people who are their own masters, if they be not submissive to the Deity ?" Christian morality and piety, in connexion with the intelligence of the common people, are the last hope of the American Republic, and the only adequate means of bridling and holding in salutary check that rampant freedom, which is so characteristic of the American people.

CHAPTER IV.

COMPARATIVE VIEW OF AMERICAN RELIGIOUS SECTS.

IN classing American Christians by their theological affinities and general sympathies, it may be proper to rank the Congregationalists of New England with the Presbyterians of the south and west; at the same time it should be remembered, that some of the nicer shades of theology, and difference of ecclesiastical organization, have divided them into several parts. Until recently, however, they have had a tolerable fellowship, and have been accustomed to interchange relations on very amicable terms, a Congregationalist having been easily transformed into a Presbyterian, out of the bounds of New England; and, *vice versâ*, the Presbyterian in New England could, with nearly equal facility, accommodate himself to Congregational modes—the difference between the two having been chiefly that of modes. The emigration from the East to the West and South resulted in introducing into the Presbyterian church Congregationalists in sufficient numbers to gain a nearly equal balance of influence.

The Congregationalists answer to the Inde-

pendents of England, and are sympathetically, and, to a great extent, lineally, descendants of the Puritans. The American Presbyterians adopted the faith and discipline of the Kirk of Scotland. Both bodies have ever been accustomed to regard themselves as chief among the religious sects of the country, and as having a sort of patrimonial title over the public mind, to dictate belief, and to give advice to "the powers that be." The early and long-continued political ascendancy of the Congregationalists of New England disposed them especially to assert this right, till the rudeness of democracy finally silenced and drove them from the field. The Presbyterians have been somewhat more diffident on this point, though extensively influential. The two sects together are fairly entitled to great praise for their zeal and efficiency in promoting education in its lower and higher spheres, and in the general advancement of academical and theological learning. They have also taken a leading part in the great religious and benevolent societies of the age. These institutions may be said to owe their existence to them, as prime movers; and they are principally under their guidance and control. Their clergy have generally been educated men, first, in academical learning, and next, in a course of professional study; and a large number could always be found among them of eminent attainments. Heads of colleges, and the various corps of professors in literature and science, have been exten-

sively selected from these denominations. In a word, the Presbyterian religion, including that of the Congregationalists—which has generally been of the same theological type—may be said to have been the most influential religion of the country. It will be seen, however, by the note in the appendix, that they are far from being the most numerous.*

The ever active and practical character of the American mind, aiming at productiveness and results, felt itself, as we imagine, somewhat trammelled by the Puritan and Presbyterian theology, and uncomfortable under the severities of its discipline. Hence, that revulsion and important defection, which started up, first, in England, and afterwards in New England, in the form of the Unitarian body. We might trace it to Geneva, and find it forced into being by the same cause; and to Germany, and find it in the garb of a philosophy of a still looser character, and of a wider range.

These difficult theological problems, fermenting in the mind, have driven American divines, from time to time, into the philosophy of metaphysics, for interpretation and relief. The successive mutations and different phases, which this school of theology has passed through in America, from President Edwards downward, it would be difficult to represent. Suffice it to say, that a system has at last been formed, called the theology of the *New School*, which stands accused by the Old of corrupt-

* Note I.

ing the true faith, and running into dangerous heresy. It is, doubtless, a very considerable modification, not to say, a radical change, of the high Calvinistic system, bringing all men within the pale of salvability, on certain contingencies or conditions. Of course, the very idea of contingency, or condition in the way of salvation, would throw a true Calvinist into spasms, and draw from him the most unanswerable argument of—*horresco referens*. The advocates of this new system profess not to have changed their ground, but only to have introduced a theory to explain the difficulties of the old. Certainly, they have made of the system a very practical affair, and adapted it well to American taste and habits. It encourages mankind to *work* as well as to *believe*. Let loose from the chains of predestination, and in accordance with this new light, the scheme has been set on foot in America, of converting the world *at once*, and of forcing mankind to be saved, whether they would or not—a very natural excess of such emancipation of the mind, and of the overflowings of benevolence; although it might have been anticipated, that the power of the will, advocated by this new doctrine, and backed by the workings of human depravity, would be quite as likely to present obstacles, as to furnish facilities, to the immediate attainment of this end.

But the Presbyterians of the Old School, not particularly desirous of having the whole world fall so soon upon their hands, or not ambitious of assuming

so great an enterprise, preferred the easy chair of the old system ; or else, peradventure, were deeply concerned, lest some should be saved who were not elected. But the seeds of the new doctrine had been sown, and had taken root extensively, within these bounds, by the amalgamation of so many Congregationalists from New England, whence these pestilent errors were supposed to be derived. The contest, stoutly maintained for many years, resulted in May, 1838, in a violent schism of the Presbyterian Church of the United States, dividing it into two nearly equal parts, both claiming the style, property, and public seminaries of the sect—a question yet to be settled by the Civil Courts.

This great and influential denomination, therefore, originally comprehending the Congregationalists and Presbyterians, now exists in three principal parts, not to speak of the Unitarians, who went off from the Congregationalists, still bearing the same name ecclesiastically, one being called orthodox, and the other as above ; or of the Cumberland Presbyterians of the West, a numerous body, and a defection from the Presbyterian Church. The distinction of Old and New School divides them theologically into two classes ; and the agitation of these theological points seems likely to rend them into several parts in the final issue, as some of the New School have run far ahead of their masters, and enacted some very extravagant scenes in the American religious world.

The Baptists, according to the statistical accounts, would seem to be the most numerous sect of religionists in America ; although we have never been able to see how it is made out. They seem to have a faculty for taking a census of themselves, which apparently exceeds their other modes of demonstration before the public. They are certainly not usually visible in the country, in that proportion which these tables of enumeration would lead us to expect. It is to be considered, however, that all who baptize by immersion, are ranked in this class ; and these sects are very numerous. Besides the two leading and principal denominations of Calvinistic and Free-will Baptists, there are many others, which it would be difficult to characterize.

The great proselyting power of this body seems to be vested in the *one idea* of immersion, which has much argument in it with those who are religiously disposed, but not sufficiently enlightened to separate principle from mode, or to distinguish between a symbol and the thing signified. Hence the ignorant and the less conspicuous in the community are brought in to swell these numbers ; which may account for the fact, that they are more numerous than they appear to the eye of common observation. It is, however, to be observed, that the census of religious sects in America, is always made up from their own reports ; and that large abatements are generally required as a balance for the exaggerations of that sectarian pride which gratifies itself in attempts to

demonstrate a comparative importance. A minister's reputation in America depends much on the number of converts he is able to report ; and the comparative importance of the different sects is measured by the same rule. Hence the great efforts in making converts, and the temptation to count them before they are well made ; not, however, to detract from a reasonable amount of disinterested zeal, and love for souls. And hence, also, the inducement to swell the general reckoning.

There is a numerous and active set of American Baptists, calling themselves Christians, commonly called *Christ-ians*, who are Unitarians, but a very ignorant and boisterous class, who may be heard preaching and praying at a great distance off. They flourish in the back-woods, and their converts are greatly addicted to apostacy, when the earlier excitements of their religious zeal are past. But their ministers baptize in great numbers, which are of course put down in the list of converts.

The Calvinistic Baptists of the United States are by far the most respectable, among whom is to be found President Wayland, of Brown University, the Robert Hall of America, and other divines of considerable eminence. This denomination has entered with zeal into the field of foreign missions, and has a Bible Society of its own, with the special object of protecting and propagating their own views as to the mode of baptism, in translations of the Scriptures into foreign languages—the genuine *esprit du corps*.

The Wesleyans are a notable sect all the world over, and have distinguished themselves greatly in America. In numbers they are next to the Baptists; but having suffered but little by schism, they may be set down as by far the strongest body, in consideration of their unity and numerical integrity. The habits and doctrines of this sect are well known in England, whence they originated. The powerful and creative mind of their founder has cast the body into a mould, which exhibits the same features in all parts of the world, and endowed it with a spirit which breathes the same animation in every member. Dashing aside the overgrown excrescences, and ejecting the overcharged ingredients of the schools, John Wesley prescribed to his followers a plain common sense theology, which required little thinking, which might be comprehended by the feeblest intellect, and easily propagated by uneducated, but ardent and aspiring men. The disciplinary principles of the sect, as invented and established by the founder, are essentially democratic, like those of the Church of Rome, in the organization of the popular mass; and, like Papacy, monarchical and despotic in the organization of the priesthood. It is exactly that state of society to which democracy seems every where to be tending: the consolidation of the people under the despotic sway of their leaders.

“I think,” says M. de Tocqueville, “that the Catholic religion has erroneously been looked upon as the natural enemy of democracy. Among the

various sects of Christians, Catholicism seems to me, on the contrary, to be one of those which are most favourable to equality of conditions. In the Catholic Church, the religious community is composed of only two elements : the priest and the people. The priest alone rises above the rank of his flock, and all below him are equal. On doctrinal points, the Catholic faith places all human capacities upon the same level. It subjects the wise and the ignorant, the man of genius and the vulgar crowd, to the details of the same creed ; it imposes the same observances upon the rich and the needy ; it inflicts the same austerities upon the strong and the weak ; it listens to no compromise with mortal man ; but, reducing all the human race to the same standard, it confounds all the distinctions of society at the foot of the same altar, even as they are compounded in the sight of God. If Catholicism predisposes the faithful to obedience, it certainly does not prepare them for inequality ; but the contrary may be said of Protestantism, which generally tends to make men independent, more than to render them equal."

The disciplinary habits, the political opinions, and theological tenets, both of the Baptists and Wesleyans, are more congenial to American democracy, than those of the better educated and more accomplished religious sects. " Every religion," says the above-named author, " is to be found in juxtaposition to a political opinion, which is con-

nected with it by affinity. If the human mind be left to follow its own bent, it will regulate the temporal and spiritual institutions of society upon one uniform principle ; and man will endeavour, if I may use the expression, to harmonize the state in which he lives upon earth with the state he believes to await him in heaven."

Hence—the political opinions of America having been before determined—those forms of religion best adapted to harmonize with them, were likely to prevail most ; and hence, the religious democracy of the Baptists and Wesleyans has acquired to itself by far the greatest numbers. The ecclesiastical organization of the Baptists is a pure democracy, the priest and the people being all upon the same level. The priest has no orders, except the democratic authority of his lay brothers and *sisters*—a state of things for which the poverty of language and former usages have not yet furnished a name. That power which elevates to this honour, can at any time and at will, reduce to the original and common level.

Not so, however, the Wesleyan system. Nevertheless, it is democratic, for the same reason that Papacy is, and on the same principles ; and like Papacy in America, it always proves itself democratic. It is a singular fact, that the Roman Catholic Church in America is the most thoroughly democratic of all.

As the burnt child dreads the fire, so the Pro-

testant Episcopal Church of the United States, having suffered more than any other from the jealousy and early legislation of American democracy, in consideration of the fact, that she was originally the Established Church of Great Britain in the colonies, has been extremely careful not to meddle with the politics of the country. It took a full half century, from the date of the American Revolution, for the Church to recover a comfortable state of existence, and to begin to feel that her breath was her own. The reorganization of her ecclesiastical polity—a thing apart from Episcopacy proper, and which may be adapted to the state of society in any country at discretion—was a duty which necessarily devolved upon this Church after the establishment of American independence; and it was so prudently devised as to be adapted to the popular institutions of the country, as originally set up, not democratic, but republican. The American Episcopal Church, therefore, is properly and thoroughly republican, in the construction and operation of its polity.

By a scrupulous avoidance of all intermeddling with the politics of State, and a steady adherence to her own principles, the Episcopal Church has silently worked her way into a prominent rank among the religious denominations of the country, and though not as yet numerous as compared with those already noticed, yet it is rapidly increasing in numbers, and growing in public favour. What she

lacks in a numerical point of view, she enjoys in the respectability and wealth of her members. Her present relative position to the community, and to other sects, is peculiarly advantageous to herself. Compact in her organization, consistent in her principles, unimpeachable as to the charge of meddling with politics, and aloof from the common religious agitations of the country, she is well prepared to endure the shock which the premature and forced attempts at moral and religious reformation have brought upon the American public, and to profit by it. Tired of the religious squabbles, and disgusted with the fanaticism, which have sprung up in so many quarters, to interfere with civil rights, to disturb the public peace, and invade the domestic sanctuary, the more sober and reflecting, according as their relations in society will permit, are turning their eyes to the decent order and quietude of the Episcopal Church, as an inviting place of repose.

There are other Protestant denominations of Christians in America, of respectable character and of considerable importance, as the Reformed Dutch, the Lutheran Reformed, the Unitarians, Quakers, &c. &c. The first of these are principally in the city and state of New York ; the second in Pennsylvania ; the third at Boston and vicinity ; the fourth here and there, but more especially at Philadelphia, the city of William Penn. The *et cæteras*, including all the minor sects, are neither to be counted nor described.

The Roman Catholic Church bids fair to rise to importance in America. Thoroughly democratic as her members are, being composed, for the most part, of the lowest orders of European population, transplanted to the United States with a fixed and implacable aversion to everything bearing the name and in the shape of monarchy, the priesthood are accustomed studiously to adapt themselves to this state of feeling, being content with that authority that is awarded to their office by their own communicants and members. Aware of the silent and insidious progress of Papacy on American ground, certain of the more pugnacious Protestants have attacked the Roman Catholics furiously, and abused them so outrageously, that public sympathy has rather turned in their favour, showing the importance of fighting the Beast with suitable weapons and a skilful hand, and illustrating the truth of the maxim, that "discretion is the better part of valour."

CHAPTER V.

THE POLITICAL CHARACTER OF RELIGION.

“ From out that midnight, so dark and deep,
 A voice cried, Ho! awaken!
 The sleepers aroused themselves from sleep,
 And the thrones of the earth were shaken.”

THIS is a description of the Protestant Reformation; and the particular allusion is to the influence of Wickliff. By a single dash of the pencil, it brings within the scope of the mind's eye the political character of religion. There is no sentiment of the human soul so potent in its influence on the character of man as his religious belief. It is deep, all-pervading, and all-controlling. The field of its vision is the undefinable expanse of heaven, comprehending the depths of the unseen world, with all the existences and states of being revealed, or imagined to be there. The range of its sympathies is limited only by the universe, with its peopled realms; and by the ages of eternity. Assuming Christianity as our standard, and its objects of contemplation as a material of sentiment, we can easily see there is enough in it to stimulate the human

mind to action that mounts superior to these low things appertaining to the speck which we call earth. When God, by his precepts and sanctions, by his counsels and promises, takes possession of the soul of man, it develops and displays qualities above the empire of other hopes and fears. Allied to the throne above, it looks down on thrones below; and, though commanded to respect them, yet pays a higher deference to its allegiance in heaven:—"Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye." A respectful position, certainly, but a decisive appeal—a mind made up. Here is the first appeal from the powers of earth to the powers of heaven, under the Christian dispensation, and the first development of the political character of Christian sentiment. There was a positive command, and a respectful but positive refusal. This may be taken as a general lesson, authorized by what is allowed to be inspired example, that human authority cannot interfere with the rights of conscience.

"The sleepers aroused themselves from sleep,
And the thrones of the earth were shaken."

Thus was it in the Protestant Reformation; and thus may it ever be expected, when political powers assume dictation over religious belief.

Religious faith is necessarily and unavoidably political in its influence and bearings, and eminently

so. Christians are generally well informed ; and knowledge is power. They have, therefore, in Christian countries, as citizens and subjects, directly and indirectly, a large share of influence in the state. In most Christian states, if not in all—for a state could hardly be called Christian, if it were not so—Christianity is made a part of common law, and, when occasion demands, is recognised as such by the judicial tribunals. It is eminently so in Great Britain ; it is so in America ; and generally throughout Europe. It is also, to a great extent, established by constitutional law, and thus incorporated with the political fabric, furnishing occasion for an extended code of special statutes. The great principles of Christianity pervade the frame of society, and its morals are made the standard. The second table of the decalogue is adopted throughout, as indispensable to the well-being of the state ; and a thousand forms of legislation are attempted to secure the ends of the great and comprehensive Christian precept—“Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.” More especially is it deemed the highest perfection of civilized life and manners, in the code of conventional politeness, to exemplify this latter Divine injunction. Otherwise life would be much less comfortable—hardly tolerable.

And besides these direct and indirect influences of Christianity on the state, by being incorporated with its constitutional fabric, by entering into its laws, and pervading the frame of society, so that to

say an act is un-Christian is something more than to say it is unlawful ; besides the constant reference that is made in society to the standard of Christian morals as the highest and last appeal, and to sincere piety towards God, as a character worthy of the greatest respect ; and besides the influence of a common and prevailing opinion favourable to Christianity, there is the deep and potent sway of faith, as a principle, in the hearts of true believers, who regard it as a duty which they owe to God, as well as to their fellow-beings and to the State, to do all in their power, in life and manners, and by every species of social and moral influence, to effect the spread, and to secure the objects, of religion, in all departments and over all the members of the community. They feel it to be incumbent upon them, by the highest obligations, to endeavour, not only to bring the particular State to which they owe a political and civil allegiance under the empire of Christianity, but the world. To this end they pray and labour, and contribute of their substance ; and their influence is not trifling. For, besides being numerous, they are generally respectable. If “the righteous are the salt of the earth,” much more are they so in the limited sphere by which their ordinary influence is circumscribed. In all proper ways they seek to bring the influence of the State to bear on the objects of Christianity ; and, when at any time the State is seen giving countenance to un-Christian practices or principles, their note of

remonstrance will be heard, and, peradventure, respected.

“It is the religion of the country that demands this measure,” said Mr. Stanley, now Lord Stanley, while, as Secretary for the Colonies, he urged upon the British House of Commons the passage of the bill for the emancipation of slaves in the West Indies; and it was understood at the time, that it was this consideration that prevailed more than any other. The announcement of this fact came upon the House, and moved over the assembly with thrilling power:—“It is the religion of the country, gentlemen.” It was as if the voice of the Almighty had uttered its mandate—as if a hand-writing had been seen upon the wall. The religion of a Christian country, pleading a cause which all men feel to be just, and bringing with it the high and solemn sanctions of the throne of heaven, is the voice of God. And when that voice is announced by a herald commissioned for the purpose, whose duty in that particular terminates with the discharge of the errand; who speaks not in his own name, but refers to his authority, it comes with tenfold power. “It is the religion of the country, gentlemen, that demands this measure.” And it prevailed.

The same sentiment, in application to the same subject, was uttered by Mr. Webster, while addressing a political assembly at New York, in 1837. The religion of the country (America) had taken the

business in hand, and, for that reason, it was not easy to be checked. The ball was set rolling ; the question had taken a strong hold of the public mind ; and, inasmuch as it had wrapped itself in the folds of religion, and got deeply into its soul, as a prophet of the future, he could not look upon this excitement with indifference, or feel that it was soon to pass over. It was armed with the weapons, clothed with the panoply, and moved onward by the deep strong current of religious convictions ; and therefore could not be turned backward.

Of course, we hold not Mr. Webster responsible for the manner in which we have represented the idea, which he barely hinted at, in terms that have escaped our recollections. It was simply the fact to which he alluded, without committing himself to an approbation of the exceptionable manner in which this business is managed in America.

Religion, as a political sentiment, has various modes of action. The machinery of State necessarily acts upon it ; and the influence is reciprocal. Just in proportion as religion operates on the mind of a community, will it act on its political organisation. The measure of its influence in this particular is that of its existence and prevalence. It is not a question of propriety, but of fact, which we are attempting to settle ; although it might be difficult to see why a religious man has not as good a right to use his political influence for religion as any other man has to use it for any other purpose.

Indeed, as a matter of conscience, of duty, how could he consistently act otherwise ? Religion, with him, is the chief end of life, and of existence ; it is that which makes the best society on earth, and only that which can qualify for the society of heaven. The grand and ultimate aim of Christianity is to make all men religious, and all kingdoms and empires subservient to religion. Such is the obvious language of Scripture, and the Christian has no other rule of conduct. It is not, therefore, with him a matter of doubt, or of indifference, but a concern of duty.

The idea that religion can be separated from the State, is a figment of the imagination. It never was, and never can be, either in Christian or Pagan lands, and there is no other single power that can assert an equal claim, or demonstrate an equal amount of influence.

The machinery of State is the conservator of morals, as well as of order, or ought to be so ; and morals are indissolubly allied to religion. Religion is their only sanction. The State is the high power of earth, and God has clothed it with all its authority. God has commanded obedience to the State ; and, in doing so, has invested the subject or citizen with a title to his appropriate share of influence in that quarter. A duty relative to man, or to any institution of man, supposes a correlative right. The scriptural injunction of obedience to " the powers that be " involves the ultimate aim of

organizing those powers on scriptural principles; and the Christian is bound ever to have this in view in the use of his political influence.

Jealousy of religion, as a political power, supposes an unhealthy and sickly state of society, induced by the abuse of religion, when it has been clothed with power. Nevertheless, it affects not at all the ground of our remarks. To assume that Christianity is unfit to govern the world is a libel on Christianity, and on its author. Such is its professed aim, if language be capable of answering its purpose.

If we may be allowed to introduce a technical expression here, we would call the attainment of this end the consummation of Christian civilization, and the looked-for Millennium. If the State is not to be Christianized, it supposes that the highest and most influential power of earth is to stand up forever independent of God; in other words, that society, the world, is not to be Christianized, for that can never be unless the State is.

But let men differ as much and as long as they will in matters of theory, matters of fact are not to be questioned. Religion is a great political power. Look which way and where we will, into the past or the present, in Christian or Pagan lands, in monarchies or republics, in Europe or America, we find it so. And we shall yet have occasion to see that the very jealousies of the Americans, and

their attempts to separate religion from the State, in the manner thereof, have only given it a more independent position, and endowed it with higher and more uncontrollable political powers.

CHAPTER VI.

THE POLITICAL CHARACTER OF AMERICAN
RELIGION.

WE have given some reasons, in the last chapter, to show, that religion is a potent element of society, and that it has a political character. In no country of Christendom, in our view, has religion so much vitality as in America, and in none does it wield so much political power. The political influence of religion, in any country, is measured by its power over the public mind, if the people are free; if the people are not free, it may be greater or less. Where religion has a great ascendancy in a State not free, and is used by the government merely to increase its power, its political influence may be greater than the power of religion over the minds of the people. For, in such a case, the machinery of State is constructed for the purpose of securing this end, and the less of vitality there is in the religion of the people, so much the stronger will be this religiouso-political sway. Witness the Papal States, and those over which the Church of Rome still maintains ascendancy; but where the Papal power has been

broken down, as in France, and there is little vital religion, there is also little of the political influence of religion.

When we say that religion in America has great political power, we assert it in connexion with the consent and will of the people, for the people are free; and for this very reason—the more religious they are, the more do they consider themselves entitled and bound to make their religion influential over society and in the State.

The political character of American religion, in its own peculiar type, is to be traced to the character of the first settlers of the country, particularly of New England. The Pilgrim Fathers, so called, and the community which they founded, were strictly a religious body, and all their politics were religious, except, perhaps, “the keeping of their powder dry.” The first organization of this society was in the form of a Christian church—puritanical. They designed their body politic to be religious, and to be governed by religious laws. One of their leading legislative acts was the singular summing up, “that the laws of the Bible should be the laws of the Commonwealth.” The Church, of course, was to be the Court; and if anybody knew, they were supposed competent to settle all questions that might arise out of the administration of such a code.

Religion was at the bottom and top, in the deep soul, and pervaded the whole body of this primi-

tively-modelled community. It was a "Church in the Wilderness,"—that is certain—and by some reverently supposed to be the woman of the Apocalypse, that was persecuted by the Dragon, and to whom were given "two wings of a great Eagle," the two ships that transported the Plymouth Colony, "that she might fly into the wilderness, into her place, to be nourished there." Without attempting to determine the propriety of this application of holy writ, we are more concerned with the question, how American religion became so political in its character, and so bold in taking political matters into its hands, in spite of the jealousies and rude hints of a profane democracy? And the end of our inquiry results, not in the, How it became so?—but rather in, How much less it is so than it was originally?

It is not difficult to see how the descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers of New England should deem themselves entitled to a political influence, or how they should hardly be able to keep their hands off from political affairs, in the management of their religious concerns. They came by it legitimately—by a moral necessity. Their fathers prayed, expounded the Bible, sung psalms, made and administered the laws, and punished delinquents, political and religious, in the same primary assemblies. And they did all this with their armour on, and went forth from these assemblies to do battle with the heathen round about them. Practically, they

made no distinction between a law of the Commonwealth and a law of God. They were religious men—a religious State—religious in everything; and they set up society in America under the theory and purpose of making everything conform to religion, and bend to its authority.

And withal, they were democrats of the most radical cut, excepting only the accidental ascendancy of their chief men, political sages, and ministers of the gospel—a very important exception, as no other set of men were probably ever clothed with higher authority, or wielded a more absolute sway. Such, we have suggested in another place, is the natural result of democratic rule. Nevertheless, their theory of society was, for the people to govern—for all power to come up from primary popular assemblies.

But times have altered. When the American people first set up a government of their own, they saw fit to decree a divorce of the Church from the State, to prescribe to Religion her offices and sphere, and to the State hers. The reasons were of a character which made the State jealous of any symptoms of trespass on the part of the Church. Yet, it was no easy task for those who had been so long accustomed to blend these two departments of society to keep them asunder. Indeed, they were never entirely put asunder in New England, till within a few years; and even now the moral connexion is strong; and the political, partial.

But, like the limited meaning of "liberty and equality," as determined in our chapter of definitions, the civil divorce of the Church from the State only cut off the pettiest considerations of all—a vested conjunct authority, and the right to enforce contributions to religion. The spiritual or moral connexion remained, and has extended and consolidated itself by new expedients, yet more effectual, for the maintenance of its political sway with the public.

The separation of Church and State, and other causes, have given rise to a new species of social organization, before unknown in history; and one of a very important and formidable character, and prolific of great results, though public attention has not yet been much directed to it, as involving such a tendency. Within the space of about thirty years it has entirely changed the character and aspects of the American religious world, and set up a gigantic religious power, systematized, compact in its organization, with a polity and government entirely its own, and independent of all control. It exists, indeed, in different forms, or collateral branches, having no visible corporate connexion, but a common sympathy.

Before the existence of these bodies the religious world lay spread over the map of the country, every one under his own vine and fig-tree—a pleasant and fair field, tolerated and protected by a Government which had denied to it a participation in its councils

and power ; but there was no extended combination to concentrate its energies in any given direction. There was no discipline of the host, as a body, for great public purposes. There were no leaders, trained by experience to the tact of combining the moral and physical capabilities of such a multitude.

Then opened on the American world the new era of the Religious and Benevolent Society system, and summoned into the field an immense body of superior and highly-cultivated talent, which had long lain inactive, and in abeyance to such a call. It was the very scheme, of all others, which the age, the state of society, and the unorganised mass of the religious world, demanded. It was the offspring of circumstances. The State had thoroughly divorced the religious world from itself, and by that measure had thrown off a large class of men, of high erudition, of great natural and acquired talent, who had been accustomed to power and influence, and who were as well qualified to wield it as any that could be found in the State itself.

Never was there a field so inviting—a field vacant and new, untrodden, unexplored, and of boundless wealth and resources. Never was there so fine an opportunity for the setting up of a new spiritual dynasty of its own kind, inviting an adaptation to the circumstances of society and of the times.

In the first place, the Government of the country was young, inexperienced, and unsuspicious of the

danger of such a rival ; it was quiet, weak, and inefficient, as regards a fitness and preparation to watch and guard against a power which, it was supposed, had been crippled for ever. It never imagined that this power would rise again in a new, well-organized, and independent form ; and so much the more influential and formidable, as it had the option of taking up its own position, and adopting its own shapes, in relation to that other power, which had sent it adrift in such ill humour. It was not difficult for such minds as were concerned in this work to see in what forms this old and never-waning power could erect itself, and not become the object of immediate jealousy ; and even though it should, yet so as not to be reached for check or suppression. As M. de Tocqueville says of the growth of democracy in the world—it was providential.

And behold ! The Religious and Benevolent Society system is thoroughly established over the wide American public ! It is a system so entirely independent of the State, that the State cannot reach it ; it is so powerful that the State cannot contend with it ; it is so all-pervading, that it comprehends the State itself, in its individual parts, and in its most vital and influential portions. It has stolen a march on the public, on “the powers that be,” on the world. It has called out and disciplined to its various offices some of the best and most cultivated portions of the mind of the country—some of the most talented,

active, ambitious, and aspiring spirits. It has put in requisition, on a large scale, a faculty for the administration of a new system of politics, to which it has given birth ; it has silently and gradually formed a close connexion with the public mind, by its various agencies and tracts ; by its weekly, monthly, and other periodical journals ; by books and sundry literary emissions. It understands the mind of the country, by having been able to set apart a class of men for that and other kindred objects ; it has more talent than the State, and talents of a higher order, in its service ; it is altogether ahead of the State, in its knowledge of mankind, and of the world ; it has wider connexions over the globe, and a more extensive correspondence ; it has penetrated hitherto unexplored regions of barbarism, as well as of civilization, and set up its posts of observation and influence in the heart of remote nations ; it has planted foreign colonies, and governs them ; it has established a system of action on the public mind at home, for the support and extension of its various interests, that is constant and all-pervading in its operations, increasingly effective, and without a rival. In a word, it has taken and it occupies a field that is its own ; and it has gained a supremacy of influence, in relation to any and all other powers of earth. Its beginnings were small ; but it has attained a high and vast spiritual grandeur.

Of the merits of these various institutions it is

not our present business to speak. It is simply the fact of their power which we have proposed to notice. The public, as yet, have not appeared to be jealous of them ; for they have generally been prudently and well managed. The system is a new one, and has given birth to a new era, an era of self-originated, self-organized, self-governed, independent, irresponsible, permanent, popular associations, of unlimited powers, which have asked no leave to be, and submit to no control ; which are forming the public mind according to their own will, and directing it to their own purposes. It may all be well ; but we are only presenting the picture.

It is not easy to estimate the importance of the Religious and Benevolent Society system of America, by comparing it with that of England, which has risen and flourished contemporaneously. In England it stands by the side and in the heart of an ancient state of society, which it cannot easily move or affect. If this new thing is active, the old is strong. The Exeter Hall, and other anniversaries, may make some stir in London during the month of May ; the silent operation of the system may go on for the other eleven months of the year, by the agency of secretaries, &c. &c. ; it may have its connexions with all parts of the kingdom ; it may be represented in Africa, in Asia, on all continents, and in many islands ; but the sceptre of British empire, its consolidation at home, and its strength abroad, feels not the action of such influ-

ences. The Government is scarcely aware of their existence, except as now and then it stumbles upon them on the soil of India, or is pestered with some complaint or petition brought to Parliament and the Throne. These matters go on in England, like the numerous charitable institutions of London, on whose fronts is always inscribed, in bold relief, *Supported by voluntary contributions*. They make a constant appeal to the public, and are regarded as an honour to the public ; but high political powers they never dream of, and have very little chance of acquiring.

But the system in America, and the field which it occupies, are very different. It is not common for individual men, or associations of men, to refuse powers and privileges within their reach, especially if there be no rival claimant, if nobody is robbed. Nor was it possible that these various societies, having once started into being, and become conscious of their power and consequence, should not avail themselves of every advantage that lay in their path. The wide sea of the American public was open before them to trade upon ; the field was vacant ; not a rival in all the territory.

A democratic republic is strong for the same reason that a lion of the forest is : he depends on his native vigour. And it is weak for the same reason : a lion may be overcome with policy, or caught with toils. A democratic republic is slow in getting to itself power, because it is afraid of power, even in

its own hands, lest it should be turned against itself. It does not like an artificial strength. Hence America has grown up, rather a thing of nature than of art ; and her strength is in nature, more than in policy. Give her fair warning of a coming strife, and she will stand against the world ; but her actual preparations for war may seem contemptible. America has been basking in the sun of prosperity, and is a lion that has had the forest to himself.

No nation in the world has been more jealous of a spiritual jurisdiction than the American republic ; and none has contrived more effectually to bring itself under it. The very course of policy she has pursued, in cutting off religion from the State, has set up religion an independent and rival power ; has awarded to it a field of influence which the State cannot occupy, and put into its hands weapons of war, which the State cannot take away. The State in America, from the nature of its policy, is a quiet sort of thing, though, peradventure, the people are rather active, and sometimes even noisy. The State resolved to have nothing to do with religion, but to let it go its own way, and do its own work, unmolested, and protected in its pursuits. It moreover resolved that religion should have nothing to do with the State ; but this last is a contingency which State decrees and parliamentary resolutions cannot so easily dispose of. The perfectly neutral ground which the State has assumed towards religion, and the uniformity of its course in relation to it, have

left the leaders in religion to form, adopt, and execute their own policy.

The affairs of State have not been sufficient to occupy the public mind in hours of leisure from the cases of business, nor, ordinarily, sufficiently interesting and exciting to claim attention. But religion is a concern that may be brought to every man's own door, that addresses itself to his affections. Hence the minds of the Americans, fond of excitement, have been peculiarly open to the claims of religion; and religion in America has been the most active, stirring power in operation. Such has been its character and sway over individual minds to a great extent. The Americans like a fervent, not to say a hot, religion. Like the Welsh, many of them want a religion that will make them hop and jump.

But the stirring power of religion in the primary assemblies of the people at camp-meetings, and in revivals, is not enough. This is only one, and a distinct mode of its operation. It is properly the devotional part, not of the closet, but of the public assembly. It is where the mind luxuriates in its religiously passive condition, and revels in extatic joy, or writhes in agony, while acted upon by a singular and powerful combination and concentration of social and religious influences. Such, to a great extent, is the cradle and nursery of American religion.

But, like the Puritans of England and the covenanters of Scotland, those minds that can pray and

wrestle with God in suchwise, can also enact their parts in the strifes of politics and of arms. They delight in some great enterprise, and the active principle of their religion is a preparation. Denied participation in affairs of State, as a body—though they are represented, and have their share of influence there, an important advantage for the protection of their separate interests and enterprises—they have entered a new field, formed associations, and opened subscriptions, for the conversion—in other words, for the conquest—of the world. As this is an open and declared purpose, there can, of course, be no surprise, and no deception; and as it is a spiritual subjugation to Christianity that is talked of and proposed, there can be no objection.

Such is the more enlarged scheme professed, the minor parts of which are a proper intellectual and moral discipline of the mind of the country, under the machinery that is erected for the accomplishment of this great end. -Whereunto there must needs be associations, national and subsidiary, and agencies innumerable—consolidated and centralized governments in this department of society, supervised by presidents, secretaries, and boards of managers, putting in requisition—on account of the variety, extent, and vastness of these concerns—as much talent, sole devotion, and practical tact, as are ordinarily required to conduct the affairs of a nation. It has given birth to a new system of politics, the machinery of which is remote from public view, silent

in its operation, but no less efficient on the public mind.

Under one Board is placed the care of the Bible, its printing and circulation—a very good work, certainly, if it can be shown that such a machinery were necessary, and that more Bibles are distributed in consequence. Under another, domestic missions, which must make itself acquainted with every corner and nook of the country, and so work upon the public mind, through its anniversary meetings, periodical journals, secretaries, travelling agents, and a variety of other operations, as to bring the whole population, as far as possible, under discipline and into action. Under another, foreign missions, a high and commanding power, which has taken the world as its field, and which must necessarily have a twofold economical or political system: one part to draw its resources from home, and the other to carry on its operations abroad. Under another, is placed the superintendence and emission of the more permanent forms of religious literature, tracts and books, involving an indirect, but actual, censorship, ordering, so far as their influence extends, that the public shall have such books, and only such, as they are pleased to publish; and their power in this particular is immense. Next, the cause of temperance requires its national organization, its general and subsidiary boards of supervision and control, its many thousand agencies, its numerous tracts and periodicals, whereby is published some good doc-

trine, and some, as is thought, rather questionable. Passing over numerous other associations appertaining to this system—too many to be easily looked up, and yet more difficult to be described—Abolitionism, though last, not least, has already enacted, and seems destined to act, a very important part, and more eminently political, under this regimen of Religious and Benevolent Association in America.

As to the right or wrong of these institutions, or as to whether they are good or bad, is not, in this place, a subject of inquiry ; but simply the fact of their social importance, and their power. And we say, that in America, it is great ; nay, we think it has obtained to a supremacy of influence over the State. American society, as we have observed in a former chapter, is a dynasty of opinions ; and the State must yield to it. And it happens, that these voluntary associations are so numerous, so great, so active and influential, that, as a whole, they now constitute the great school of public education, in the formation of those practical opinions, religious, social, and political, which lead the public mind, and govern the country ; at least, exercise an influence over the State, which cannot be resisted.

If we consider the connexion of the clergy* with schools, academies, colleges, and universities—with education generally, and their influence in training the public mind ; if we consider, that these various socie-

* All ministers of the gospel, in America, of whatever sect, are by courtesy, called *clergymen*.

ties have been brought into being, constructed, and are governed by them ; that the pulpits and the religious press advocate and support these operations ; that wherever the Bible is to be found, are ordinarily lying, side by side, some one or more of the literary emissions of these societies, tracts, journals, or books ; that the common people are better acquainted with these matters, and take more interest in them, than in affairs of state ; that very comprehensive modes of religious education are now in general use by sunday schools and the religious press ; all tending to the result of fostering these great enterprises ; and finally, that, for the most part, they have the confidence of the public, it is easy to see, that the growth of this power can only be limited by these all-pervading influences.

Doubtless, it will be said, that this is the legitimate influence of religion, and it only shows how much more directly it marches to the attainment of its ends when unconnected with the State, and uncontrolled by it. To this, however, there must necessarily arise some question and debate, inasmuch as it will appear, that these religious corporations, which have attained such growth and influence, and with such rapidity, are bodies politic, and managed on the principles of political corporations. In the first place, they are generally invested with the usual corporate powers, conferred by charter privileges from the State. In the next, they have no limitation, except sometimes in the matters of funded pro-

perty, which is of no consequence to them, as they are generally in debt, and use funds by anticipation. Lastly, their field of action for accumulating power and extending influence, is as broad as the Republic, and with some of them as wide as the world. They are institutions of a peculiar character : they are not churches, but are as independent of such organisation as of the State. They have none of the customary forms or attributes of ecclesiastical or spiritual corporations, but their polity is of a temporal, political, business character. They have taken a new field, and are making a new experiment : they can act within any limits, and can extend themselves without limits, as occasion may require or suggest. They can act with the State or independent of it. They are self-originated and irresponsible :—irresponsible to the church and to the civil authority that tolerates their existence, and protects them in their position and operations. There is no limit of influence or of power to which they cannot aspire, or in the progress to which any check can be put upon them by existing and recognised regulations of society. The State is governed by fixed and declared principles, but these institutions are not, practically. They are accustomed to extend their operations to the limit of possibility, in any direction and on any ground that is open before them, taking advantage of circumstances and events. It being assumed that the cause is good, the rest is left to discretion.

It has never happened that any of these institu-

tions have come into a direct and immediate collision with the Government of the United States, till the organisation of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Like as in Great Britain, so in America, this movement is the work of the religious; and like as Mr. Secretary Stanley, now Lord Stanley, said in the British House of Commons, so the same voice addresses itself to the American public, and to the Government: "It is the religion of the country that demands this measure," and the religion of the country has now laid aside all disguise, and assumed the weapons of political warfare. As a preparatory measure, the following resolution was adopted at the annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society in May, 1838:—

"Resolved, that we deprecate the organisation of any Abolition political party, but that we recommend to Abolitionists throughout the country to interrogate candidates for office with reference to their opinions on subjects connected with the abolition of slavery, and to vote, irrespectively of party, for those only who will advocate the principles of universal liberty."

In reference to this resolution, an authoritative circular has been addressed to the agents of Abolition Societies throughout the country, of which the following is an extract:—

"Resolutions embodying the same idea (as above) have been passed by the New England Anti-Slavery

Convention, and we believe, by nearly all, if not all, the State Abolition Slavery Societies.

“ The undersigned think the time has come, when the friends of the slave, through the free States, should act fully up to the letter and spirit of these resolutions.

“ We hope, therefore, you will, without delay, confer with Abolitionists in your region on this subject by correspondence, by holding meetings, and in such other ways as may be deemed expedient, and take prompt and efficient measures to secure the selection of such candidates for the National and State Legislatures, as the friends of the slave can cheerfully support.

“ By order of the executive committee,

“ JAMES G. BIRNEY,	} Corresponding Secretaries.”
“ E. WRIGHT, Jun.,	
“ HENRY B. STANTON,	

Accordingly, this scheme has gone into active and full execution, “ up to the letter and spirit of these resolutions.” The following is an extract from a published letter by Mr. Stanton, one of the subscribers to the above circular :—

“ From Lockport I returned to Utica. By request I delivered an address in the Bleekar Street church, on the *political* duties of the forty thousand Abolition voters in this State (New York) with reference to the fall *elections*. I spoke an hour and a half to a large audience ; not having completed

the argument, I was requested at the close of my address to resume it next morning, with which I complied."

"The *forty thousand* Abolition voters" in the State of New York. We believe the whole number entitled to vote in this State, is somewhat less than 200,000. If we suppose an equal proportion of the electors of the other free States to be "Abolition voters"—and we know of no reason why it should be less—it is certainly a strong party; and in the present state of political parties in the United States, as determined by other questions, not only formidable, but quite sufficient to turn the scale whenever they cast their influence, whether for national or State officers of government.

The following letter from a *clergyman* may serve to show the zeal and activity of this party in other parts of the country without the bounds of the Slave States:—

"Aurora (State of New York), Oct. 8th, 1838.

"Dear Sir,—I have just had assigned to me by the executive committee of the New York State Anti-slavery Society, as my field of labour for several months to come, the Counties of Erie, Niagara, Cataraugus, and Chatauque. The first object, to which I am bending all my energies, is the holding of County meetings before the coming elections, with a view especially of preparing and exciting Abolitionists to carry their principles to the polls, and wield all their *political*, as well as

moral and *religious* power for the redemption of one-sixth part of our fellow citizens, who are groaning at every breath and bleeding at every pore, under the crushing weight of American oppression, created and upheld by American law. Now, brethren, what say you? Are you already at your posts in this work? Or are you waiting for some one to lead you on? Can you not create a tremendous re-action at this time against a mobcratic Judge Foote, and Esquire Waite, and all the Southern whiffet* dog-train? The only way in which we can move the pro-slavery and dough-faced politicians, is by showing them our political strength; and especially are the Chatauque Abolitionists called upon to act at this election, as that County is the residence of one of the candidates for Governor.

“Arrangements are now about to be made for holding Conventions in Niagara and Erie Counties. Many of the Counties have been for a year past holding monthly meetings. Genessee County has been for some time holding weekly meetings, especially for the purpose of effecting the election of candidates who are Abolitionists. They have the prospect of a complete victory. The Whigs have nominated for Congress a full-blooded Abolitionist. Now, will you call together your Executive Committee, and fix on a time and place for a Convention? And let me know immediately, and write

* We do not know this word “whiffet;” but suppose it is vulgar blackguardism.

letters all over the country—have notice given out in the churches, &c., and have town Abolition Meetings held before the County Convention.

“Yours for the crushed slave,

“J. M. BLAKESLEY.”

This letter, it may be supposed, will *speaks* for itself, and is, perhaps, a pretty fair specimen of the *spirit* and zeal of the party. That it is pretty well on to political ground, can hardly be doubted in view of these documents, and the course of action which they seem to prescribe.

It may be remarked, that the American Anti-slavery Society is modelled precisely after the type of the other Religious and Benevolent Societies of the country, and prosecutes the same system of operations by its committees, secretaries, itinerating agents, tracts, journals, auxiliaries, &c. It only happens that this Society has leaped at once from the properly religious sphere to the exclusively political, and is properly called religiouso-political: its work is political; its motive religious.

As we desire simply to determine matters of fact, it is proper to remark in this place, that in ascribing this movement to the religion of the country, we would not be understood to mean, that the credit of it is due to the religious public generally; but rather to that portion which has signalled itself in the numerous enterprises of reform, which have recently been set on foot in America. The

majority of the religious sects, and we believe a majority of the religious public, though decidedly averse to slavery, are quite aware of the delicacy, and somewhat momentous character, of this movement, in its bearings on the political fabric of the country, and are accustomed to disclaim participation in its responsibilities. Strange as it might seem, the Wesleyans have acted ecclesiastically on this subject, and almost unanimously rebuked these proceedings. They have even formally put under censure, and, as we understand, deposed or excluded from their connexion, ministers that have been especially pre-eminent and active in this business. The General Conference of that body, held in New York, in the summer of 1838, was occupied many days, not to say weeks, in these trials. The reason may be found in the fact, that the Wesleyans are extensively connected with the slave-holding states, both with masters and slaves; and they seem to wish it to be understood that they do not propose to meddle with this political question. Like St. Paul to Philemon, they seem inclined to be courteous: "Though I might be much bold in Christ to *enjoin* thee that which is convenient; yet, for love's sake, I rather *beseech* thee. . . . I beseech thee for my son Onesimus. . . . Withal, prepare me a *lodging*." The Wesleyans would hardly have a "lodging" prepared for them any longer in the slave-holding states of America, if they were not, like St. Paul, contented with

accomplishing the *spiritual* welfare of the Philemons and Onesimuses of the South, and with "beseeching" the former for the good of the latter, instead of assuming magisterially the office of dictation in political matters. Like the primitive Apostles, and like the great "Messenger of the Gentiles," they prefer to take their station in the political fabric, *as they find it*, and to leave it undisturbed, for the attainment of higher ends. Like St. Paul, they prefer to make, not good *slaves*, but the slaves *good*, for the sake of their masters, if, peradventure, they may be instrumental in guiding both to heaven. And in laying the foundation and preparing the way for this end, they are sure of bringing about the best state of society in all its civil and political relations.

As a matter of fact, most of the religious sects of America, in their ecclesiastical capacity, have refused to meddle with slavery; except, indeed, that some of them, like the Wesleyans, have rebuked the character of the Abolition movement.

"Church and State," and "Liberty and Equality," are technical phrases of a very limited signification; but that little is radically important. They cannot conveniently be applied beyond a strict and legitimate interpretation, although a democracy is always inclined to give them the most extended and sweeping influence. A republican people may decree, that they will have a voice in the government; and that is liberty. They may decree that they will

have no birth-right kings and nobles ; and that is equality. They may also decree that they will have no Church and State ; that is, that religion shall not be incorporated into the body politic ; that it shall not have authority in legislation and government, or be entitled to wear a political livery.

But they cannot decree against the political influence of religion, so as to bar it, any more than against the winds of heaven, that they shall not blow. They could only effect this by extinguishing religion altogether. Every religionist is a member of the body politic, in a democratic state, and is as much entitled to make politics of his religion, as any other citizen is to make politics of anything else in which he takes an interest ; and he will as certainly carry the political influence of his religion into every department of society and of the State, as that he is a man. And all this may go on, and does go on, in America, without giving alarm to its democracy. Nay, American democracy itself is especially addicted to this influence ; and one of its largest parts is composed of it. There is more democracy in the American religious world, than in the State, and it is more radical. It is, indeed, the nursery of democracy, where men, women, and children, of all ages and conditions, in the most prevalent sects, are on a level, and entitled to an equal voice, and the religious democracy is so much the more potent and irresistible, as its logic is its

faith, its own convictions, and cannot, therefore, be reasoned with.*

We see, therefore, that society in America began with political action of religion; and though the form thereof has been modified by time and circumstance, it has never failed to develop a political power.

“Religion in America,” says De Tocqueville, “must be regarded as the foremost of the political institutions of that country. The Americans combine the notions of Christianity and of liberty so intimately in their minds, that it is impossible to make them conceive the one without the other. Religious zeal is perpetually stimulated in the United States by the duties of patriotism.”

The object of this chapter, among other incidental suggestions, has mainly been to show, what we conceive to be a fact, that, notwithstanding great pains were taken, in constructing the American political fabric, to separate religion from the State, it has yet worked its way into a very eminent political position, and is wielding a great political influence.

Query: Is this the natural result of divorcing religion from the State, in a free country, that it should set up an independent Commonwealth, an empire of its own?

* Note K.

CHAPTER VII.

AMERICAN ABOLITIONISM IN A FALSE POSITION.

THE cause of Abolition in England, in behalf of the slaves of her West Indian colonies, was never in a false position. First, it acted on a power, viz. the government at home, which had the political right to liberate the slaves. Next, as this right vested in that power, the Abolitionists had only to persevere, till their influence should force the government to comply with their demand. And so it was effected. Moreover, the remote geographical relations of slavery to the seat of empire, where alone the question of Abolition could be decided, were highly favourable to the object.

If the same amount of slavery had been in the British Isles, and the greater part of the United Kingdom had been interested in maintaining it, it is easy to suppose that the agitation of the question of Abolition might have rent the State asunder. Or suppose, that slavery had existed in Ireland and Scotland before the union of the three kingdoms, as was the fact in the Southern States of America, before the Government of the United States was

formed, and that these portions of the empire were united on terms to protect and defend it ; suppose, moreover, that the slave-holding parts of the kingdom still continued attached to the system, while the other part, that is, England, desired its abolition ; the agitation of the question might then become very hazardous. Or suppose, that England were the slave-holding party, and her soil covered with three millions of the African race in a like condition with the American slaves, to be let loose upon society at once with all the privileges of free-men ; and all the existing relations and modes of society, so long established by such a state of things, to be broken up ;—the case would then be altered, and high political considerations would come in for their share of influence.

But, as the case was, British slavery in the West Indies was remote from the great home of the empire ; the Colonies were but little specks of British jurisdiction, insulated and far removed from all other parts ; the curse of slavery had already reduced society in these Colonies to a deplorable state, bordering on dissolution ; the property connected with it depending upon it for its value, and itself, as property, had depreciated to the ruin of its holders, and mostly passed into other hands at the reduced value ; so that the slaves could be bought up by the government at a fair and comparatively small consideration. The consequences of abolition might, indeed, be inconvenient for a while, or even

for a long time ; the freed-man might refuse to work ; the indolence of his nature might be stronger than the motives to exertion ; there might be insubordinations and serious troubles ; the planters might be driven from their homes, and compelled to vacate the islands ; it might cost the government more to take care of them than they would be worth ; and they might at last be abandoned, like St. Domingo, to the sole empire of the blacks ;—but still there was a loud call for the experiment ; a call from heaven ; a call from the rights of long-suffering humanity ; a call from the enlightened conscience of the British nation ; and a call from all the circumstances of the case, political, social, and from whatever consideration might be brought under review. The British government was able—at least willing, and, therefore, able—to indemnify all parties ; they were able to execute the project with safety to all ; to establish the most salutary mode, to supervise its operation, to sustain an armed force and police adapted to the exigencies of the progressive change ; to consummate the plan ; and finally, if that should be necessary, to cover the retreat of the white population, and indemnify their losses. If the government should choose to maintain a permanent empire over the islands, it could be done. Every consideration of interest, of policy, of humanity, of religion, and of public conscience, pleaded for the measure. The government was not endangered at home, but the tranquillity of the do-

mestic empire required it; the Colonies themselves could hardly be worse off, and they might be better; the sum to be paid for emancipation was at once indemnified by the high and proud satisfaction of the nation, and by the cheerfulness with which it was assented to and assumed; the glory of the achievement gives the British nation a moral power in its political and social relations, a thousand times more valuable than the cost; and she is in all respects greater, richer, better, and more powerful.

But not so American Abolitionism. That we may clearly see and fully appreciate the position which it occupies in relation to the state, we must take our station on the platform of American political society, and view it in its peculiarities. We have had occasion to notice, in the chapter on the political construction of the American Government, that the individual States, which compose that Union, are independent and sovereign in every attribute and power, not delegated to the General Government by the National Constitution, or not inhibited to the States by that instrument. The line, therefore, which determines the respective powers of the National and State Governments is distinct and simple, and can always and easily be determined by a reference to the Constitution. What, then, are the points respecting slavery, on which the National Constitution utters its decisions? They are three, and as follows:—

Art I. Sect. 9, Clause 1. “The migration, or importation of such persons as any of the States,

now existing, shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year 1808; but a tax, or duty, may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person."

It will be seen, that this law has respect to the slave-trade. It was foreseen that the voice of general society would demand its suppression, and that a provision was here made, by anticipation, for the application of that power. The poll-tax, here claimed as a right to be imposed, would naturally operate as a partial prohibition. As a matter of history we know, that the slave-trade was abolished as soon as this rule permitted; and that it was done simultaneously by Great Britain and the United States, the two governments having enacted by treaty, the penalties of piracy for such offence under their respective flags. How this trade could have been so long tolerated, is not our present business to inquire, although the reasons are sufficiently apparent.

The second enactment of the American Constitution on the subject, is the following:—

Art. IV. Sect. II. Clause 13. "No person held to service or labour in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due."

The purport and power of this rule need not be explained. It operates to this day for the recovery of runaway slaves, whenever they can be found under the jurisdiction of the United States, on application of their masters to the proper authorities. It is true, indeed, that difficulties sometimes occur in the Northern and Eastern States by the action of public sympathy, and by clandestine assistance and protection given to the slave ; mobs and riots take place in attempting rescues ; but this great Constitutional law has its force, and prevails ; and the scene of such action and recovery is not unfrequently exhibited. It is supposed, that Southern masters are more anxious, under the late excitement, to prove the strength of this law, than they formerly were ; and that they often follow up and recover the runaway slave, when he is not worth the trouble and expense which it costs. And the result of the experiment, on the whole, is in their favour, as the disturbances grow less violent, and the process is submitted to with little opposition. The law triumphs, and the symptoms of riot subside.

The third provision of the Constitution on this subject comprehends other matters, but is construed, by the rule of "necessary implication," to apply for the protection of slave-holding States against servile insurrections and disturbances, as well as against invasions. We may as well quote the whole clause ;—

Art. IV. Sect. 4. "The United States shall

guaranty to every State in this Union, a republican form of government, *and shall protect each of them against invasion* ; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive when the legislature cannot be convened, *against domestic violence.*”

The first of these three Constitutional regulations, viz., that touching the abolition of the slave-trade, is not particularly applicable to our present purpose, except indirectly, that by pointing out what matter of slavery the nation might legislate upon, it is implied, that its legislation could extend no farther ; and so it is universally understood and admitted. The other two points, as will be seen, embody the highest and strongest possible legislation, to wit, Constitutional, to protect and defend slavery by the nation’s authority and power, in all particulars that may be ordained by the domestic regulations of the Slave-States, and so long as the said States shall determine.

First, the nation ordains the validity and security of this species of property, throughout its jurisdiction, by requiring the runaway slave to be restored ; and next, if the Slave-States should be disturbed “by domestic violence,” or foreign “invasion,” they are entitled to call to their aid and protection, the power of the whole nation, or so much as may be requisite. Nothing can be more distinct, or more explicit, than these provisions : all the rest is left to the sovereign will of the respective States, to continue slavery as long as they please, to abolish

it when they please, and to adopt any regulations they may think fit respecting it, not interfering with the National Constitution.

It will be seen that only one of the clauses of this instrument, quoted above, involves a *power*, viz., the right to abolish the importation of slaves, which went into operation in 1808, at the time specified. The two other provisions are matters of duty and obligation, proscribed to the General Government, the effect of which is to sustain and facilitate the legislation and government of the Slave states in this concern.

Dr. Wayland, President of Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, in a chapter of his late work on “*The limitations of human responsibilities*,” has the following remarks on this subject :—

“ Our duty on this subject must, I think, be either as *citizens* of the United States, or as *human beings* under law to God. I think it evident, that *as citizens of the United States*, we have no power whatever, either to abolish slavery in the Southern States, or to do anything of which the *direct intention* is to abolish it. Whatever powers we possess, as citizens of the United States, are conferred upon us by the Constitution ; but this power is *not* conferred upon us by that instrument, and, therefore, it does not exist.

“ But this instrument has not merely a *positive*, it has also a *negative* power :—it not only *grants* certain powers, but it expressly declares that those

not enumerated are *not granted*. Thus, it enacts, "that all the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are *reserved* to the States respectively, or to the people." Now, the abolition of slavery being a power not conferred, it is by this article expressly *withheld*. Whatever power we may therefore have over slavery, as citizens of the *several States* within our own limits respectively, we have none as citizens of the *United States*. The majority of the people of the United States have, in this respect, no power over the minority, for the minority has never conceded to them this power. Should all the States in the Union but one, and that one the very smallest, abolish slavery—should the majority of one hundred to one, of the people of the United States, be in favour of its abolition, still it would not alter the case: that one State would be as free to abolish it, or not to abolish it, as it is now. This is a question which has never been submitted to a majority of the citizens of these United States, and, therefore, the citizens of the United States, as citizens, have nothing to do with it."

Our object in this exposition of the political structure of American society, is to show the predicament in which American slavery is placed, which, we have some reason to suppose, is not commonly understood in Great Britain, nor by foreigners generally. It seems commonly to be imagined abroad, that the United States, as a nation, have control

over the slavery within their jurisdiction, in the same manner as Great Britain had over the slavery of her West Indian colonies; whereas, it must be seen by these documents and statements that, in the case of the United States, the slavery which is *within* the jurisdiction of the General Government, is not *under* it, nor in any manner or degree *liable* to it, as a subject of legislation or control. On the contrary, the Federal compact binds the General Government; first, not to meddle with the slavery of the States where it exists, and, next, to protect it in the case of runaway slaves, and to defend it in the case of invasion or domestic violence on account of it. This is the grand platform of American political society in relation to this question, which, in our best judgment, must control it, at least for a time so extended and indefinite, as to baffle the gifts of prophecy.

We see, then, that American slavery is fortified as strongly as is possible by the political organization of the community, and the very character of this organization operates for its perpetuity and defence. Those fractional parts of the Union, called States, where slavery exists, and which are in fact clothed with the powers of sovereign States in all that appertains to the regulation and control of this matter, are alone entitled to legislate for and over it: they only have the right to establish its discipline, and to govern it. And so long as they are inclined to have and to maintain it, they are armed

with the protection of all the States united—of the nation. No matter what the moral sense of the nation or its will may be, as Dr. Wayland says, “should the majority of one hundred to one of the people of the United States be in favour of the abolition of slavery, still that would not alter the case.” The one is competent, under “the supreme law of the land,” to overrule the one hundred. However extraordinary or anomalous the case may be; still it is a fact.

In this state of things, a popular movement has been made in the United States, simultaneously with that of Great Britain, and under a widespread excitement on the subject, to abolish American slavery; and an organized power has arisen, under the name of the American Anti-Slavery Society, which has taken this business in hand, with an apparatus and force of no mean consideration. The object of our present inquiry is to ascertain, as near as may be, by the estimate of probabilities, the aspects of this enterprise, and whether it is likely to succeed. The title of this chapter, as will have been seen, intimates our opinion.

We are quite aware that one of the leading principles of what is called reform in these days is Agitate—Agitate; and the victory will be gained by one means or another, sooner or later. And in regard to the abolition of American slavery, it will be said, Behold its success in Great Britain. But there may be exceptions to this rule, even admitting

it to be a good one for general purposes. Certainly it cannot be denied that there may be some discretion, as to the time, place, circumstances, and manner of agitation. We think that this remark applies particularly and forcibly to the movements and doings of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

We have seen the peculiar character of American political society, as it stands related to this question. We have also noticed, in the previous chapter, another and somewhat anomalous power, that has sprung up in the United States, which we have designated as the Religious and Benevolent Society system. It will be remembered that we attached some importance to it, as occupying a field peculiarly its own, as having arisen to a giant stature, and as moving onward with giant strides.

So long as this great and potent principle of association—peculiarly potent in America, for reasons before given—was confined to religious and benevolent action, properly and exclusively such, the State never troubled itself about it, nor was it likely to interfere. But this mighty and all-pervading principle, in the organization and action of the American Anti-Slavery Society, has been observed to leap from its sphere, and take under its charge the greatest, most delicate, and most momentous political question, in the hands and under the consideration of the great public. These movements and operations have attracted more and more

attention, and have excited a deep and absorbing interest, on account of their relations to the state, and alleged interference with affairs of State—affairs of momentous consequence. And they are watched by the eagle eye of observers, of statesmen, especially of Southern statesmen, who are collecting information, and preparing for an encounter.

Had the Abolition movement in America contented itself with the guaranteed privileges of the Constitution and laws, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, &c., in the usual forms, and under the recognized restrictions, every step gained would have been tenable ground. But the Abolitionists now stand up in the awkward and false position of a grand political body, in direct and immediate collision with the political fabric of the country, in all its forms. They are a body organized, reduced to order and discipline, that has rushed into the field without arms, to contend with a body that has arms, and all power, in its hands; which has had possession of the ground, and claims sole jurisdiction over it; which reposes in its conscious power, and is able, by a single effort, to humble and silence this parvenu for ever, as a mover of sedition.

It might perhaps be supposed that a thing of such unequal power might be passed unnoticed; but that is impossible. Circumstances have given it importance. American slavery is itself a great thing—a portentous evil; and it is interwoven with the entire system of the American republic. It is

not a remote and isolated entity, like that of the British West Indies, in relation to the seat of empire, that can be managed at arm's length, and kept at bay, if it should threaten mischief in return for an attempt at excision or extinction. But it is incorporated with the main body; it lies hidden in the powers of every muscle, to influence the action of every member; it circulates in every vein, and courses in every artery; it passes through the heart, and acts on every pulsation; it is in the eye, it is in the ear, and it is in the *arm*. It is the soul of the South; and, by political compact, is allied to the North. As an evil in the body politic, it requires all the wisdom and power of the strongest Government to manage, independent of all interference from without, and of any unnatural broils from within.

Moreover, the public is naturally and extremely sensitive on this subject, for the very reason, that the evil is a portentous one. The South cannot bear to have the subject approached by any other counsels, or touched by any other hands than their own; and they are aware, that, politically, no other power has a right to meddle with it. They will therefore never consent to it. They see and know that they live and have their being by the side of a magazine of powder; that their feet stand on a sealed, but rumbling volcano: and however the North, as a body, may be opposed to slavery, which is a fact, they, too, are aware that the tranquillity and inte-

grity of the Union hang suspended on the contingency of leaving this whole matter to those who claim it as their sole right of treatment, control, and ultimate disposal. The people of the North know very well, that, politically, this is a business of the South ; and all the most sober and reflecting part of the community have made up their minds not to meddle with it ; and farther, not to *suffer* it to be meddled with. The North, eschewing slavery altogether, as one man, is yet with the South on this question of political right, and will unite in defending it, or rather, in not allowing it to be interfered with, from among themselves, to the peril of the Union. They take ground on the recognized doctrine of non-interference, as established by the laws of nations. If Spain or Portugal, or any other nation, chooses to destroy itself, it may freely do so, provided they do not disturb the rest of the world.

But, in the operations of the Anti-Slavery Society, an important political interference has actually taken place, and is in progress, not in the usual form of public opinion, for that is a legitimate power, and has its recognized modes and channels of influence, but by a public and organized body, having the machinery of a state. It is an *imperium in imperio*, self-created, self-governed, and irresponsible, with a head, a cabinet, a legislative power, secretaries, and under-secretaries, subsidiary agents, under a complicated and well-devised system of operations, collecting and disbursing monies in the service,

claiming to occupy the entire field belonging to the jurisdiction of the United States, so far as this question is concerned, and extending itself over it as fast as possible.

It is this form, and these modes of action, that have constituted the American Anti-Slavery Society a tangible political body. It is true they started into being as a Religious and Benevolent Society, and are still a religious body, actuated by a religious spirit; but their business has necessarily put them on political ground, in having usurped and taken in charge a great political question. They stand committed by their official declarations, by their public acts, by all their movements. They are caught in their own trap; they have sprung their own net over their own heads. Their enemies have nothing to do but to pull at one rope; and they are all in a heap, kicking and flouncing, and then lying still, to save their own breath.

Every body sees that the operations of this Society are a political interference, because it is no other than a foreign power, invading a foreign State, or a plural number of States—not simply meddling with their internal affairs, but entering their domains with the brand of the incendiary, penetrating the sanctuary of private life with the dagger of assassination, and exciting insurrection and servile war. *Facit per alium, facit per se.* However the purpose of inducing such horrors may be disclaimed, such, undoubtedly, is the direct tendency of these mea-

asures : and had not the South arisen in self-defence by a special legislation and police surveillance, adapted to the exigency, it is admitted, on all hands, that these appalling consequences would have come thick, and fearful to relate, long before now. Unresisted, this Society is able, at this moment, by the moral influence of its organization and talent, by its resources and its emissaries, by its tracts, journals, books, and pictorial representations, to set the entire regions of the South in a blaze, and raise a general insurrection.

This system of operations has compelled the General Government to connive at a constant violation of one of the most sacred laws of the country, in allowing the Committees of Vigilance at the South, to enter post-offices, to examine parcels and papers, and to order what may and what may not pass ! A fact, at the knowledge of which, five years ago, every sword in the land would have leaped from its scabbard, self-moved ; but which is now tolerated with scarce a note of remonstrance, because the sufferance is felt to be essential to the safety, and well-being of the community.

From the resolution of the Anti-Slavery Society, quoted in the last chapter, and the measures that have resulted, it will be seen, that the cloak of religion and benevolence, at first put on, has fallen from the shoulders of the Abolitionists, and the banners of a political party are unfurled. It was sufficiently

evident from the beginning, in consideration of the circumstances and relations of American slavery; that such an organization must necessarily be political in its character. But they have now thrown aside all disguise, and entered the arena of political strife under the appropriate flag.

Leaving out of view the merits of emancipation, properly conducted, of which there can be but one opinion among the humane,—we are now called upon to observe the spectacle of such an association entering such a field, against such odds, and provoking such an array of hostility. Every step increases the difficulty, and will require to be retraced. The organization is of a character that must necessarily be noticed. It is virtually a Commonwealth. Its type is borrowed from the Religious and Benevolent system of the age, and is armed with a compact machinery of the widest scope. It is a refinement of policy, as much more potent, as it is more subtle, than an ordinary political machinery. It has plunged into the depths of spiritual empire, drunk deeply at the fountains of its mysterious powers, and come out invested with carnal weapons, to sustain a carnal warfare. The spirit is still religious; but the object to be gained, and the field of strife, are political. It must succeed, or it must fail; and success will be more disastrous than defeat. Either will be injurious, and may involve extensive ruin.

Success will involve the stability, not to say, the

existence, of the American Government. For both these powers cannot occupy the same field as victors. The American Abolitionists must trample on the Constitution, and wade through the carnage of a civil war, before they can triumph. If it were a mere conflict of opinion, that were a different thing ; but it is a body politic against a body politic,—a faction, under the organization of a State machinery, against the State. All truce, therefore, is necessarily suspended, till the strife shall be brought to a close, by the suppression of one of the hostile parties. Henceforth, nothing can be done for the amelioration of the condition of the slaves, till this warfare is ended. The South has been compelled, in self-defence, to rivet the chains of slavery afresh, and to hold on to their political rights with a stronger hand. And the day can hardly be remote, when they might be obliged to avail themselves of their claim on the General Government for protection and redress. The cause of these disturbances of the public peace must be inquired into, and the character of the agency scrutinized. And when it shall be found, that it is an unconstitutional, illegal organization—as doubtless it is—that it is an organized sedition in the republic—then a collision between it and the Government cannot be long delayed.

We say, an organized sedition—not to characterize the principle, on which the cause of emancipation is

founded—for that is allowed to be sound and good—but to express the nature and measure of this enterprise, as it stands related to the Constitution and Government of the country, and to the political rights of the parties, of which the American Union is composed, and which are involved in this controversy. These rights, even though they be moral wrongs, we take for granted, cannot be trampled upon, or set aside, so long as they constitute principal parts of the political fabric of the State. They are rights, which, while contested in this manner, and by such an agency, will be insisted upon at the point of the sword, and at the cannon's mouth—rights which the General Government is bound to defend.

If the time had come, when one nation might interfere with the domestic concerns of another ; and if a crusade of foreign powers could be beat up for the cause of American Abolition, there would at least be a prospect of an immense effusion of human blood. But, though victory should crown the effort, who will say it were an event to be desired, at such expense, and at the hazard of the consequences ? But can the American Anti-Slavery Society alone be expected to bear down the American Government, by its attacks on the political rights of the slave-holding States ? This Society has exasperated the South ; it is fast wearing out the patience of the General Government ; is marshalling the moral and

physical energies of the nation against itself; and now, that it has spread the banthers of a political party, under a consolidated, permanent and irresponsible organization, of an anomalous character, at war with the genius of the American Constitution, it must of course abide the consequences.*

However holy and justifiable the cause of emancipation may be, this Society has unquestionably pushed itself into a false position. If the reader will revert to our chapter of definitions, he will probably find, under the heads of radicalism and fanaticism, some thoughts not altogether inapplicable here. Fanaticism is there represented as characterising efforts at reformation under the guidance of some single idea or principle, which may be right or wrong. Suppose it is right, as in the case of abolition. There are yet many other ideas or principles, appertaining to the constitution and government of society, claiming consideration and influence. But the fanatic considers only one, and attempts to force its way at the expense of all others.

In the case of slavery, he assumes that it is wrong; and so far he is right. But that is the sole idea, the solitary principle, on which he acts, in his way to remedy the evil. He refuses to consider how it is interwoven with society, and how society may be endangered by the violence he proposes to apply. He becomes at the same time a radical and a fanatic,

* See Note L.

posts himself on the car of reform, and with whip in hand and reins thrown loose, drives ruin itself out of countenance.*

* On account of the ground taken by the author on the subject of slavery, it may be proper for him to state, that he is a Northern man ; that he has never had any interest or connexion with slavery whatever ; and that he is opposed to the system in all its forms, as a Christian and as a man.

CHAPTER VIII.

AMERICAN ABOLITIONISM A CRUSADE.

A RELIGIOUS and moral reformer, who proposes to use the weapons and armour of Christianity alone, has the world for his field, and may go where he pleases, with few to let or hinder. But when he proposes to change the regulations, and to remodel its civil and political structure, his field is more limited. He will not be allowed to go beyond the particular Commonwealth of which he is a member, and where he is entitled to a voice on the conditions of the Constitutions—if there be any—and of the laws of the community. Within these limits, if he sees anything in the structure and operations of society which he imagines to be wrong, he may use all the influence he is possessed of to correct it. But the moment he steps into another Commonwealth or State, unasked, uncalled, uncommissioned, to correct its faults, he becomes an intruder, an invader—in other words, a crusader.

It will have been seen, by the statements already advanced in these pages, that the several States composing the American Union, are separate and

independent Commonwealths, except so far as they have surrendered their powers by covenant to a Federal and National Government ; and that in the matter of slavery, they are totally independent of the General Government and of each other, so far as the right of legislation over it, and the treatment of it, are concerned. But American Abolitionism, as it now exists in an organised and active form, is entirely without the limits and jurisdiction of the slave-holding States, and has taken up the position and commenced the action of descent on those States, in all the forms and ways by which they can gain admittance. It has no sort of title, civil or political, for action and influence there on this subject, any more than on the remotest nation of the earth. American Abolitionism, therefore, is strictly and purely a crusade ; and it is just as sure to meet with obstacles which nothing can subdue but the sword, and to expend blood and treasure for nothing—and for that which is not a little worse than nothing—as that such were the facts in the history of the European crusade against the infidels of the Holy Land.

CHAPTER IX.

THE EFFECT OF THE ABOLITION MOVEMENT IN
AMERICA.

IN the first place, it has arrested the improvements which were in progress in the Slave States, for the amelioration of the condition of the slave; it has broken up the system of intellectual and moral culture that was extensively in operation for the slave's benefit, lest the increase of his knowledge should lend him a dangerous power, in connexion with these crusading efforts; it has riveted the chains of slavery with a greatly increased power, and enforced a more rigorous discipline; it has excluded for the time being, the happy moral influence which was previously operating on the South from the North, and from the rest of the world, by the lights of comparison, by the interchange of a friendly intercourse, and by a friendly discussion of the great subject, all tending to the bettering of the slave's condition, and, as was supposed, to his ultimate emancipation. Before this agitation commenced, this subject, in all its aspects and bearings, might be discussed as freely at the South as any

where; but now, not a word can be said. It has kindled a sleepless jealousy in the South towards the North, and made the slave-holders feel as if all the rest of the world were their enemies, and that they must depend upon themselves for the maintenance of their political rights. We say, rights, because they regard them as such; and so long as they do so, it is all the same in their feelings, whether the rest of the world acknowledge them, or not. And they are, in fact, *political* rights, guaranteed to them by the Constitution of the United States.

This agitation has, moreover, resulted, to a great extent, in making the South thoroughly pro-slavery in principle as well as in practice. Before, they wavered and said, "It is our doom; we cannot help it, though we feel it is not right. Point us to a remedy, and we will go for it." But now, they have opened their eyes to their condition; they see themselves planted in the midst of slavery, and can discern no relief. They know the slaves cannot be set free at once—and of this question they are doubtless, at least, probably, the best judges—and a voluntary system of gradual emancipation, without any provision or prospect of indemnification to the master for his sacrifice of such property, would be the giving up of his means of subsistence for himself and family. Of course, it is not to be expected, that he will, of himself, come to the conclusion, that it is as fair for him to be poor, as for his servant to be a slave. Some decision, therefore, in such cir-

cumstances, it has been necessary for the people of the South to come to, that they might make a stand, and notify the world of their determination. And generally, they seem to have resolved on the proslavery system, absolute, unconditional, and for ever. They aver, that God has ordained it; that it is proper and right; and they have sworn by heaven and their own swords, to maintain it. Such is the temper to which the Abolition crusade of the North has driven the people of the South.

It may be said, indeed, that this is madness, and that it is the desperation of the last struggle. It may be so; and, if Abolition can be carried by force, with sword in hand, it may prove so. Otherwise, all prospects of emancipation for American slavery, are at present blighted, and the period for the attainment of that end stands suspended just so far as may be necessary, first, for this crusade to be suppressed; next, for the exasperation of the South to be appeased; and lastly, for the South to get possessed of such reasons and motives, as may induce it to set about the work of emancipation of its own accord. To be forced into it, they never can and never will, till the sword has drunk their blood, and the iron heel of the victors has trampled their carcases on the plain. We speak of man as he is, and as he has always been found in given circumstances, setting aside all questions of what he ought to be.

But there is no probability that Abolition in America will be forced—certainly not within the

range of any living man's vision. Europe will not enter on a crusade to America for this purpose. Who, then, what power shall effect it? Surely not the present organisation of American Abolitionism, however it might be disposed. We have shown the position in which it stands to the American public, and what is likely soon to be its own fate, in reward of its arrogance. American political society, as before shown, and as it stands related to slavery, cannot be shaken, to admit Abolition, without being shattered and broken.

And will a moral influence force it? That is at present entirely barred, by the measures it has adopted. The effect of American Abolitionism, therefore, in consideration of the recklessness and violence of its career, has been to interpose the most formidable obstacles and the strongest barriers to emancipation, without gaining an inch of ground.

CHAPTER X.

THE REAL AND COMPARATIVE CONDITION OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

It is not a bad rule to make the best of a bad state of things, and to get all the consolation we can out of an evil we cannot help. The Millennium has not yet come, and the world is likely to be governed for a time yet indefinite, and in its more prominent operations, by political considerations, notwithstanding the declamatory exercises of enthusiasts, and the crusades of fanatics. There is no way of getting rid of American slavery just at present, except by resort to a violence which, we think, the world is hardly prepared to sustain.

For the comfort of all who are pleased to concern themselves with this matter, therefore, it may be said : First, that American slavery is not so bad in its physical effects on the slaves as is commonly supposed, and often represented. It was revealed, while Abolition was under discussion in Great Britain, that the decrease of the slave population of the West Indies, in consequence of the cruelty of the system, was frightful ; but in America, the slaves

increase on the whites, as did the Hebrews in Egypt on their masters. Here, then, is a score of subtraction from the account of evils, not inconsiderable, and a proof that the American system of slavery is comparatively lenient. It has its cruelties, doubtless, especially on the sugar, cotton, and rice plantations of the more remote South and Southwest, where the severities of toil, in connexion with the means employed to exact it, and the brutal degradation of the prædal slave, are, to a considerable extent, inhuman and barbarous. But the interest of the master in the life and health of his slave always comes in to graduate this evil, so that in its most aggravated conditions, the injuries done to the human constitution, and the physical sufferings resulting, are not at all to be compared with the same class of evils to be found in the manufactories of Great Britain.

But in most of the Slave States, the relations of master and slave have many features of resemblance to the feudal system of Europe ; many others to the patriarchal system of ancient days ; and many peculiar to itself. The master sustains the threefold character of lord, a patriarch, and the citizen of a Commonwealth ; the latter of which binds him to a proper discharge of the duties and responsibilities of the two first. It is true that the members of the Commonwealth have the same or a like interest in slavery, and are not, therefore, likely to be so conscientious in securing the recognised rights of the

slave, as those of the masters. Nevertheless, the considerations of humanity prevail; the law is humane; every member of this Commonwealth watches every other, and the authorities supervise the whole, according to the demands of public opinion; and this opinion is formed, not alone by the higher virtues of the slave-holding community, but by an unavoidable respect to the prevailing feeling of mankind. They have a reputation at stake among themselves as individuals, and before the world as a community. It is true, indeed, that the effect of the law is not so good as the law, nor is it so in any state of society. There are cruel parents and cruel masters everywhere; and the former sometimes enact the monster as well as the latter, yet the law has a salutary influence.*

Moreover, the slave-holders of America are planted in the midst of their people with their wives and children. These families are tenderly educated;

* An instance of the force of law in the Southern States, for the protection of the slave, has just occurred, in the failure of a petition to his Excellency, P. M. Butler, Governor of South Carolina, for the pardon of *Nazareth Allen*, a white person, convicted of the murder of a slave, and sentenced to be hung. The following is part of the answer of the Governor to the petitioners:—

“The laws of South Carolina make no distinction in cases of deliberate murder, whether committed on a black man, or a white man; neither can I. I am not a law-maker, but the executive officer of the laws already made; and I must not act on a distinction which the legislature might have made, but has not thought fit to make.

“That the crime of which the prisoner stands convicted, was committed against one of an inferior grade in society, is reason for being especially cautious in intercepting the just severity of the law. This class of our population are subjected to us as well for their protection,

they have all the humanities that adorn and mollify the social state ; and, in many instances, the Christian virtues are prominent and influential. The moral influence of such families, as those of a great portion of the slave-holders of America are generally found to be, and residing as they do in the midst of their people, is likely to be felt for a lenient treatment of the slave, and for the amelioration of his condition ; and such is generally the report of Northern men, who have gone to the South with the strongest prejudices against slavery, but returned with a different opinion—not advocates of slavery, but feeling that the case had been misrepresented. Such visitants are almost unanimous in declaring against the hasty and violent measures of the Abolitionists ; and their testimony is doubtless worthy of some respect. The improvements of general society, and the advancements of Christian civilisation and morals are as sure to spread their mantle over a slave-holding community, connected like that of the Southern States with the Northern and with Europe, and as certain to operate for the relief of the evils of slavery, and towards ultimate emancipation—all improper interferences out of the way—as that the influences of the sun and of the

as our advantage. Our rights, in regard to them, are not more imperative than their duties ; and the institutions, which, for wise and necessary ends, have rendered them peculiarly dependent, at least pledge the law to be to them peculiarly a friend and protector.

“ The prayer of the petition is not granted.

“ PIERCE M. BUTLER ”

showers of heaven will make the earth prolific of good fruits.

The American slave-holder is not like the West Indian, a non-resident, rioting in Europe on the cruel exactions of his task-masters in a remote Colony ; or if resident for a season, making inhuman haste for the acquisition of a wealth that shall enable him to retire and revel in an affluence then gotten ; or if a permanent resident, yet far removed from the eye of the world, and addicted to the habits and vices of the worst state of society, where he can practise cruelty without remorse, and without quailing before the reprobation of mankind. On the contrary, the American slave-holder's home is for ever in the midst of his people ; and he knows that it is to be the home of his children from generation to generation. Ordinarily, he has a family, whose morals and amenities of life are of a mould too tender and delicate to be witnesses of inhuman and barbarous cruelties around them, and which are inconsistent with such a state of things. He is also connected, politically and socially, with a different state of society, and is accustomed habitually and statedly to mingle with it, besides other modes and channels of a common sympathy that are ever acting upon him. The voice of the whole civilised world is continually ringing in his ears, and uttering its notes of remonstrance, not only against the cruelties incident to a state of slavery, but against slavery itself. And although his interest and habits may tempt for the

present to advocate slavery and to maintain it, he knows that the world awards the sufferance on the condition of his good behaviour.

It is also to be considered, that the chances of the African race for improvement and happiness, temporal and eternal, in the condition of American servitude, are better than have ever yet been offered to their ancestors and collateral descendants in the continent of Africa, so far as history goeth to show. After all the evils of American slavery have been summed up, as comprised of the domestic slave-trade, in selling men as cattle, in separating husbands and wives, parents and children, and multiplying the sacred ties of matrimony—the natural results of this traffic, and which are too often exhibited, when exhibited at all—and it cannot be denied that such things are ;—after taking into the account all the cruelties of the lash and the inhumanities of overtoil, the discipline of overseers, and sundry other disadvantages and sufferings necessarily incident to a state of bondage, where a portion of mankind are doomed to live for others, and are subject to the will of others ;—yet, in view of all these facts, in the worst forms, and to the greatest amount known to exist in the great mass, and over the wide extent of American slavery, the race, even in this condition, are better off, as a whole, than is to be collected from any accounts we are accustomed to receive of African barbarism. There is not one of these evils that has not a greater evil in

Africa to set over against it; and many others there of a horrible nature, not to be found here. Besides, there is civilisation in their bondage; many of them are made comfortable, and even happy; no small portion are raised to high degrees of improvement; the preaching of the Gospel is enjoyed among them, probably to as great an extent as men that are free to choose to avail themselves of; and the great mass are as certain to rise and advance in general improvement, as that Christian civilisation progresses around them, when uninterrupted by the interferences of fanatical crusaders. In a word, it cannot be deemed that the condition of American slaves is better than that of African barbarians—better for this life, and more hopeful for the life to come.*

Not forgetting, therefore, the value of those rights of man which give him the control of his own destiny,—their value for the general purposes of human society, as well as for individual happiness; not attempting to palliate the horrible atrocities of the slave-trade, which tore the African from his home, his kindred, and his country; not withholding our sympathy from the long-protracted wrongs done to that suffering race, during the ages of involuntary servitude and painful toil to which they have been wickedly doomed; not denying the right of the African to freedom, or the wrong of holding him in bondage; it may yet be true, that

* Note M.

the overruling providence of God should bring good, even to that unfortunate race, out of the incalculable and amazing evil they have suffered; it may yet be true, that it is better to be a slave in America, than a free man in Africa; and in the end, it may yet all be overruled to reinstate him in the rights of man, and to raise him to the most valuable immunities and privileges of human kind. It may be the means which God has ordained for sending back the lights of civilisation and the blessings of Christianity to the benighted continent of Africa. Indeed, this very work has already obtained a footing, and is in a state of interesting and hopeful progress, as a result of American slavery.

True, the nations that have done such wrongs to Africa, may not make a virtue of their fault—of their crimes. But, since the conscience of the world is aroused from its slumbers in regard to this subject, it is suitable to inquire in what way atonement can best be made, and by what means these wrongs can be most happily redressed. Finding the race in such a condition, it is proper to take the most enlarged view of the case, of the causes still in operation that make it what it is, of the degrees of liberty they are capable of enjoying and using to their own advantage, and which would not be incompatible with the general welfare of society. If, indeed, they are found so low in the scale of intellectual and moral being as to be incapable of using freedom in its widest scope with safety, or profit to

themselves or the public,—incapable of self-government, or of sharing in the government of the communities where they are, it is, at least, a relief to that sympathy which is felt for them, that they are better off than their brethren in their father-land. These, with many other considerations, are among the estimates that go to determine the merits of this mighty theme; and it is false or defective reasoning that leaves them out of view.

He who would attempt immediate abolition in America, is not simply a fanatic, but a madman. The world may be assured, that abolition there, in a gradual course to secure the result, as soon as the race can well be prepared for it, can no more be stayed than the sun in the heavens. Come it must; and come it will.

CHAPTER XI.

HOW CAN AMERICAN SLAVERY BE DISPOSED OF?

A GREAT question, indeed ; a question that might well puzzle the brains and baffle the wisdom of the most renowned sages. The number of slaves in America at this time is probably but little less than 3,000,000, increasing with a rapidity in excess of the whites in the same States, as 112 per cent. is to 80 per cent. in the term of forty years, and constituting about one-third of the population of the slave-holding States, besides about 400,000 free blacks scattered over the Union, all whose sympathies will be on the same side with their common kindred.

With all the prejudices and aversions of the two races of whites and blacks, one against the other, in consequence of the relations they have so long sustained—not taking into account the moral effects of a difference of physical constitution, from which they can never emerge to have lost them, but are more likely to have them confirmed and augmented—how can they ever live together as equals under the same jurisdiction? And how can the whites do

without the blacks in such a climate, where the latter have been accustomed to do all, or nearly all, the manual labour? And if they could do without them, can the blacks be colonised anywhere in America, and be erected into an independent government, or be made to act in harmony as a separate and constituent member of the American Confederacy? Or can they be transported back to the land of their fathers, and be well established there? These are momentously practical, and stupendously difficult, problems. All theories, it may be said, are likely to be baffled, and the great question seems destined to be surrendered to time and circumstance. There are reasons also for the opinion, that the nearer the blacks approach to a state of freedom, so much greater and more violent will be the aversions and animosities between the two races, from causes which are likely to be in operation in the mean time, more especially through the influence of the indiscreet friends of the blacks, who are for that reason their greatest enemies; and that the final result must be for the parties to fight it out, till one has exterminated or effectually subdued the other. In other words, as the whites are likely to be the strongest, that all things revert again to the *statu quo* of everlasting slavery.

In this puzzling state of the question we have only to add, that were we a king and absolute over the American republic, we would settle the business at once, and in manner as follows:—

The vast and unoccupied public domain, which is nobody's property in particular, and which therefore could never be lost to anybody in particular, except in vague expectancy, should be mortgaged for the price of every slave in the Union—a thousand million of dollars, more or less, probably less—and it is abundant to satisfy even such a demand, principal and interest. Neither is it required for any other necessities of the State, or of the public, in a prudent management of public affairs. Commissions of appraisal of slave property should be made out on equitable principles, and the fair value of every slave credited to his master. A system of gradual emancipation should be instantly commenced, and a course of instruction and discipline established over the slaves, to fit them for that end. The master should have the choice of remaining on his estates, to cultivate them by voluntary service, or to negotiate them away, and retire on the avails of his land, and of his interest in the public stocks accruing from the price of his slaves. A system of police, adequate to the necessities of such a state of things, in the progress of change, should be organised, and put in operation. The entire machinery of emancipation and government should be adapted to the successive exigencies of time and circumstance.

And inasmuch as the coloured population increases more rapidly than the whites, and might sooner or later endanger the well-being of society, if all were to remain on the same soil, we would make it a na-

tional concern to negotiate for territory on the continent of Africa, as occasion might require, to establish colonies of emigrants, under a suitable and parental government, protected by our own flag, till they should be able to take the government into their own hands, as an independent nation. We would present all possible motives to emigration, by opening prospects of wealth, of personal and social importance, of self-government, and, if needs be, by the conditions of emancipation. We would employ national ships, so far as the commercial craft might be inadequate to transport them by tens and scores of thousands every year, and thus confer an equal benefit on the continent of Africa, by establishing and extending the empire of civilisation there; on the emigrants themselves, by restoring them to all the rights of man; and on the American States, by draining them of that redundancy of coloured population which might endanger their peace, and which would not be required to till the soil, or for other purposes profitable to the employers and employed.

And as we are not of opinion that the European and African races can ever amalgamate and live together in comfort on terms of absolute equality, we would not endow the coloured population with an equality of rights and influence in the American government, nor leave open to them a door for such an ascendancy in American society as that they might ultimately arm themselves with a dangerous power. But Africa, or some other field, should be

opened for a full and fair development of their capabilities for improvement, for self-government, and for the enjoyment and use of all other acknowledged rights of man.

If, under the operation of a system of emancipation and emigration, like that we have here so briefly and comprehensively delineated, the African race should find motives, for want of being raised to a full equality in America, to vacate the continent altogether, and retire to the land of their fathers, we think it would of all things be most desirable—a consummation most devoutly to be wished.

But these, it will be said, are mere dreams of fancy. Well, then, we have nothing better, at present, to suggest; and it is confessed, they are mere suggestions. We pretend not to say that a like scheme is practicable; but we do believe, that the future is pregnant with a possible remedy, even for American slavery, and that it may be carried into execution in a peaceful state, and in the peaceable progress of society, provided always, that the work may be saved from the meddling hand of political quackery, and from the ruthless empire of a fanatical radicalism.*

* Note N.

CHAPTER XII.

CHURCH AND STATE—THE AMERICAN VOLUNTARY
SYSTEM.

THAT religion is a great political power in all States, and especially so in North America—notwithstanding the contrary of this last statement is generally supposed to be the fact—we have shown in chapters fifth and sixth. From the nature of man it must be so; and they who think of shutting it out from political influence only dream. It is impossible. And there is no good reason why it should be excluded from that pale. It will be found in the very confessions of the American political creed, about to be exhibited, and in the structure and operations of American political society, as solemnly adjudicated in its courts, that religion is an indispensable element of the political fabric, to give sanction to those principles of morality which bind the state, or society, together; and that it is actually recognised as such in Constitutional law, in Common law, and in common opinion of the Americans themselves.

As to common opinion, we may, perhaps, lawfully fortify our own convictions on the point, by intro-

ducing the testimony of M. de Tocqueville :
“ Upon my arrival in the United States, the religious aspect of the country was the first thing that struck my attention ; and the longer I stayed there the more did I perceive the great political consequences of this state of things, to which I had been unaccustomed. Religion in America takes no part in the government of society ; but it must nevertheless be regarded among the foremost of the political institutions of that great country. For, if it does not impart a taste for freedom, it facilitates the use of free institutions. Indeed, it is in this point of view, that the inhabitants of the United States themselves look upon religious belief. I do not know whether all the Americans have a sincere faith in their religion ; for who can search the human heart ? But I am certain that they hold it to be indispensable to the maintenance of republican institutions. This opinion is not peculiar to a class of citizens, or to a party ; but it belongs to the whole nation, and to every rank of society.” This, we are prepared to say, is generally true. It was the result of a discriminating foreigner’s observation, and is a pretty fair statement.

As to the recognitions of Common law on the same point, it may be sufficient to observe, that the Courts in different parts of the country have decided repeatedly, when occasions of such action have demanded, that Christianity, in its code of morals and sentiments of piety, is the law of the land. And these decisions are supported by such high and commanding autho-

rities as to put the question at rest. We are not aware that there has been manifested any popular remonstrance that is worthy of respect. We know, indeed, that these decisions are supported by the common feeling of the wide community.

And as to the political creed of the Americans, as it bears on the subject of religion, some extracts from Constitutional state papers will be found in the Appendix, sufficient, as may be supposed, to determine that question on the side we have already indicated.*

Assuming that the reader has made himself acquainted with the Note here referred to, which is indispensable to a full appreciation of what we are now about to add, we proceed to a summary statement of American political principles in regard to religion:—

1. The Americans have adopted Christianity as the foundation of the State, and set forth its catholic principles of morality and piety as the common law of the land.†

We are aware that some American religionists have gone so far as to say that “we are a nation without God—atheistical.” But this is without foundation, as the documents quoted in the Note, and as the administration of American jurisprudence

* Note O.

† We suppose it will not be imagined that we here take into consideration the “Blue Laws” of Connecticut, or the Dracon code of the Colony of Virginia, as they belong not to the history of the Republic.

will show. The religious history of the people also is in point. The reason of this complaint is, perhaps, to be found in a morbid feeling, resulting from a disappointment that the *mode* has not been carried out in exact accordance with the theory of the complainants. But God “seeth not as man seeth.”

2. The Americans have taken great pains in the drafting of their fundamental political charters, to separate religion from the State, in the two following particulars, viz. : First, that religion shall have no visible and formal State authority in acts of legislation and Government ; and next, that the State in its care over religion shall not give a preference, or show partiality, to any particular form of religion—meaning Christianity, of course.

A religious establishment, or an established religion, *alias*, a union of Church and State, is a technical phrase, and refers to certain tangible historical facts. It is to be interpreted accordingly, as having a fixed and limited signification. The Americans have been very scrupulous in barring the door effectually and for ever against this connexion. But what do they mean by a National or State religious Establishment ? Not that religion or Christianity is not established among them. For nothing could be more false as to fact. It is established in the common feeling of the people ; and in no nation more radically and firmly. It is established in the Common law of the land, a most vitally political power. It is established by an extended and com-

plicated code of special legislation for its protection, and to give facility to its operations. Excepting only in the States of Virginia and Kentucky, as we believe, all religious societies are incorporated, if they choose to be so, as civil or political bodies—"bodies politic," as the Constitution of Massachusetts terms them—having power to acquire and hold property and funds, to sue and be sued, to exercise all the functions of these corporate rights; and are thus intimately and immediately allied to the State. Their existence is recognized, and their powers maintained, by the Courts; and the functions of civil magistracy are bound in their behalf, as much as for any State object whatever, civil or political. Indeed, there are no interests of State guarded more effectually, or watched more tenderly, than the interests of religion. For the most sacred feelings of the social state, of its public walks, and of the domestic sanctuary, are concerned in this guardianship. The legislator, the magistrate, the judge, every civil and political functionary, the private citizen—all are concerned. They have wives and children, it may be, near and dear friends, whose feelings—and feelings of the most delicate character, are concerned.

Christianity comes in with claims, and announces sanctions, which awe men's minds into respect and deference. It sways an indescribable and a mysterious influence over society on earth, and connects the mind of man with his interests in eternity. Single, or associated, he cannot elude its power.

Even if the State should make war against it, it wars with Heaven, and its efforts will prove fertile. But Christian States, of our time, have been taught better things by the records of history; and no nation has been more careful not to interfere with religion and not to oppose it, than the United States of America, however they may have failed in direct patronage.

Christianity, therefore, in the United States, is established thoroughly and firmly; it is interwoven with the entire fabric of society, and has its foundation in the most sacred, most profound, and most influential sentiments. Wherein, then, is it not established? Simply, that it is not invested, by the political institutions of the country, with a formal political authority. Its political influence cannot be prevented. That power is all pervading and omnipotent. It runs up from the bottom to the top of the social fabric, and through all its connecting links.

The very especial pains manifested in that class of State-papers, called Constitutions—from which we have made sundry extracts in the Note last referred to—apparently to guard against the influence of religion, might seem, at first sight, to indicate a jealousy bordering on enmity. If we had quoted the whole on this point that is contained in all the Constitutions of the twenty-six States, it might appear as if the nation were at war with religion, and engaged in a conspiracy to put it down. But all this is to be interpreted by a national dread of what is called a religious establishment. Nothing could be more

firmly barred from the pale of a community by public prejudice and Constitutional law. And this is a feeling of all classes, of the religious as well as of the irreligious, and of all religious sects equally.

“The religious sects in the United States are innumerable,” says M. de Tocqueville; and not without reason. For, we shall venture to say, it is a task beyond any man’s power to enumerate them. They breed like grasshoppers in a drought, and a man might as well chase one tribe as the other, if he would count them. It is true, that every statistical table must have its limit; but if such data be taken as a guide, it should be considered, that they set forth only the most notable denominations, that have had some standing in the community.

In America, none are more jealous of a religious establishment, than the religious. Even those who might hope to be at first benefited by it, know very well, that it would be a perilous ascendancy. Their most prudent course, therefore, is to declare against it. Hence that perfect uniformity of political creed in the United States on this subject.

With this explanation of this remarkable feature, in the fundamental political documents of the country, the reason of it may be understood. At the same time, it is to be observed, these same State papers are sufficiently explicit in avowing a respect for Christianity, and declaring the indispensable importance of its principles of morality and piety, to the well-being of the State. Add to this the amount of legislatives in

its favour, the Common law influence, as maintained by the Courts, and the well-known religious disposition of the people; and all together must lead irresistibly to the conclusion, that the religious character of the nation is not to be judged of by this apparent jealousy, lest religion should acquire too much influence, or by this studied caution to guard against its ascendancy.

However singular, therefore, and apparently unaccountable it may seem, that a people so religious, and so attached to the institutions of religion; who go not to their task of legislation without prayer; the spires of whose churches are every where pointing to heaven, and their bells inviting to acts of devotion; who, to no inconsiderable extent, make religion the great business of life; the fame and fruits of whose religious zeal have covered the land, and gone far over the world; who sincerely believe, that religion is indispensable to the welfare of the State; and who set it up as a part of the staff of their armies, and plant it on the decks of their navy, commanding for it a high and reverential deference—which, indeed, was quite unnecessary, as it was sure to obtain it;—however strange it may seem, that such a people should plant insuperable barriers in the path of religion towards a specific direction, it is all accounted for in the way we have explained. It is *only* in that direction, that they have taken such pains to intercept its progress. And the reason is to be found in the evils supposed to have resulted from such a connexion of religion with the

State in other nations, in the spectacle which history presents.

Summarily, then, the divorce of religion from the State in America, is comprehended in these two points: that religion shall not be invested with the symbols and prerogatives of State authority, and that all religions shall be equally free and equally favoured by the State.

The impartiality thus decreed, is of course to be considered as limited to Christian sects, although Pagan religions, and infidelity itself—so long as it does not outrage the feelings of the community by that species of offence called blasphemy—are tolerated. Pagan religions were not contemplated in the Constitutional regulations of the American States; and, as a matter of policy, there was no demand for it. At the same time, the field in America is open to them. It is an amiable characteristic in any government, to treat with tenderness religious prejudices of every description, whether Christian or Pagan.

Infidelity is doubtless a religious opinion, so far as it is an opinion on the subject of religion. It is itself the religion of the class. But in America, at least, it may safely be left to the control of public sentiment. When M. de Tocqueville says, "Freedom of opinion does not exist in America," he means, that infidelity is not tolerated by public opinion. For his next sentence, by way of illustration, is, "The inquisition has never been able to prevent a vast

number of anti-religious books from circulating in Spain. But the empire of the majority succeeds much better in the United States, since it actually removes the wish to publish them. Unbelievers are to be met with in America; but to say the truth, there is no public organ of infidelity. Attempts have been made by some governments to protect public morality by prohibiting licentious books. In the United States, no one is punished for this sort of works, but no one is induced to publish them, not because all the citizens are immaculate in their manners (*mores*), but because the majority of the community are decent and orderly."

We do not think, that M. de Tocqueville was himself an infidel; but in this case, and one other like to it, he evidently had his eye on the poor chances of infidelity, and its doomed fate at the bar of public opinion, in America. We are not aware, that such statements apply to any other facts; and independent of this explanation, it would doubtless surprise all mankind to hear this gentleman say, as he does in another place, and connected with the same reason: "I know of no country in the world, in which there is so little true independence of mind and freedom of discussion, as in America." We are glad to find such testimony on this point, viz. the slender hold of infidelity on the American mind; and we are disposed to concur with it fully.

The impartiality of the American national and State authorities towards Christian sects, is mani-

fested in one of its forms by selecting public chaplains from different denominations. When a State Convention, or Legislature, meets, it is very common, and rather the prevailing practice, in their preliminary resolutions of order, to invite the resident clergy of the several sects to officiate as chaplains by a weekly rotation—not excepting the Roman Catholics, when they happen to be prominent in society.

It is the practice of the American Congress to elect its chaplains, one for each House, at the opening of every session, with the understanding, that both branches shall not appoint them from the same sect. And in a course of years, they run through the range of the most prominent religious denominations of the country. It is but two or three years since, that a Roman Catholic was appointed to one of these places, for the first time, without disturbing public feeling, so far as we know. There is a reason, not only of liberality, but of policy, for having done so. The Roman Catholics in America have grown to an important political influence by the acquisition of Louisiana, and by emigration from Europe, so as to be capable of turning a vote for a National Administration, in whichever scale they cast their weight, in the present nearly equal balance of political parties. And the Roman Catholics are generally found on one side, viz. the most thoroughly democratic and radical. And as that is at present the dominant party, it may be said, that Roman Catholics govern the country, so

far as that, they are the means of keeping in power the party to which they are attached.

The same rule of appointing chaplains prevails in the army and navy, and they will be found of several different sects, as accident has determined. When any clergyman applies for the place, it is not asked to what denomination he belongs, although it may be remarked, that the Episcopal service is most popular in the army and navy, and for that reason is often used by chaplains of other denominations.

In the small degree of direct State patronage—for it is very small—that is extended in the United States, in the way of endowing religious, literary, and scientific institutions, great caution is observed not to be open to the charge of partiality to any one sect, or to any particular sects. If it be in an appropriation of public lands, the benefit is accompanied by an authoritative charge, in the instrument of donation, that it shall be used for the general good. If an influential religious sect applies to the Legislature for aid, they will take care to go in company with some other influential denomination, to obtain an equal distribution between the two. As, for example, the University of the City of New York, lately established, being allowed to be under the control of the Presbyterian Church, obtained from the State the grant of a 6,000 dollars annuity, by causing to be incorporated in the bill, the same grant to the Episcopal College of Geneva. These two denomi-

nations, being highly influential in the State, succeeded in this instance, by a joint effort ; and the precedent will of course open the door for a joint movement of any two or more considerable denominations, such as the Dutch Reformed, Methodists, and Baptists. And we pray they may succeed, as there is little danger of getting too much in America from this source, for such objects. This mode of endowment, however, and after all, is rather a stretch of American principles, as it operates partially for the sects benefited, and affords little chance for the success of the smaller and comparatively uninfluential denominations. In other words, American principles carried out, as we are sorry to say—or rather retaining their position of inaction in this particular—are forced to leave religion, science, and literature, to take care of themselves ; and that notwithstanding it is solemnly declared in various forms of Constitutional law, and in substance, that the promotion of these objects is essential to the well-being of the State. We say, American principles, as a general fact. For it may be observed, in the parts of several State papers already referred to in the Appendix, that a plural number of the States take higher and more noble ground. But even these States are practically embarrassed by the prevalence of prejudice opposing their action in carrying these objects into execution. As a general truth, the direct patronage of religion, literature, and science, in America, by the State, is niggardly and scandalous.

And so inadequate is the voluntary system, and individual enterprise, to these ends, that one of the most serious apprehensions of reflecting and foreseeing minds, for the result of the experiment of American society, arises from the consideration of such a state of things.

The exception we have just made to the bestowing of patronage by the State on particular sects, in answer to their own petitions, as being inconsistent with American principles, does not apply to a more liberal scheme, perfectly practicable, if American feeling would generally sanction and sustain it. The establishment of any one religious sect, or of a plural number, above others, would manifestly be a violation of American Constitutional law, equally of the nation, as of the States. And notwithstanding there is a semblance of prohibition in some of these State documents, against the right of taxation for religious purposes, others have asserted the right, and some are accustomed to practise upon it. And when it is denied, it seems to have respect rather to the municipal authority of towns and parishes, than to the sovereignty of the Commonwealth. But if the right of direct taxation for these purposes be waived, there are other modes in the power of every State of arriving at the same end—modes unobjectionable and unobnoxious, except so far as the end itself be so, which, we are disposed to believe, is not generally the case.

But, we think there is nothing in the Constitutions

of any of the States, to forbid adequate State enactments, of one form or another, to render all the patronage to religion, science, letters, and the arts, that is desirable, provided it be equitably distributed among the parties that are entitled to it. And if nothing to forbid, they have only to assume the position of State sovereignty, which each of the States possesses in regard to this matter, and execute what many of them have declared to lie within the circle of their prerogatives, which none of them have denied or relinquished, and which of course vests in their discretion.

It is reasonable, that the State should undertake whatever may be allowed to be for the public good, what itself has declared to be indispensable to that end, and what is not inhibited by any principle of the social state as actually organized—not inhibited, either in form, or in common opinion. In regard to the question now under consideration, the door is open in all these respects, in America. American principles, if we rightly understand them, only require the observance of these two rules: to keep religion out of the circle of State authorities, and to be impartial towards all religious sects. So long as these two objects are attained and kept in place, no principle peculiar to Americans is, or can be, violated, so far as we can see, even if they should bestow half the revenue of the State to the support of religious institutions. It is the lack of courage in American statesmen, in the influential and leading members of

the community, lest they should lose their places and their power, that they do not take the ground which they know would be best, and which, in most cases at least, if not in all, is warranted by the Constitutions. They are obliged to legislate *over* religion, for its protection, and to give it facilities, so far as it is no cost to the State ; but they are afraid to legislate for the direct patronage of religion.

Even the State of Virginia, which has so disgraced itself by yielding to the dictations of individual authority, which was accidentally and for a time, in the ascendant, and thrown religion without the pale of legal protection in the matter of its means of support, once, in 1784, had under consideration a bill, of which the following is the preamble :—" Whereas, the general diffusion of Christian knowledge hath a natural tendency to correct the morals of men, restrain their vices, and preserve the peace of society ; which cannot be effected without a competent provision for learned teachers, who may thereby be enabled to devote their time and attention to the duty of instructing such citizens, as from their circumstances and want of education, cannot otherwise attain such knowledge ; and it is judged that such provisions may be made by the Legislature, without counteracting the liberal principle heretofore adopted, and intended to be preserved, by abolishing all distinctions of pre-eminence among the different societies or communities of Christians ; Be it enacted," &c. This bill went on to provide for the support of reli-

gion by general assessment on the principles here avowed, and is supposed to have been lost for want of the support of Patrick Henry, who had advocated it warmly when it was first brought forward, but was absent at the final action thereon. We think it may be set down as a fair exposition of the feeling of the country, if the statesmen dared to come up to it. It may, perhaps, be said, that this timidity is probably the effect of well-founded observation, and a proof that the object could not be attained. All we have in view, however, is to determine what are American principles, as professed.

The proposition is simple, and may be understood by the people, as well as by their governors, that religion is beneficial to the State. And it *is* understood by the people; the people believe it. It may also be understood by the people, that the State, in the exercise of its sovereign prerogatives, and under the guidance of Constitutional law, may enact any measures which it may deem best calculated to promote the public weal; and consequently, that it may patronise religion to an indefinite extent, on the principle before recognised.

It is true, indeed, that the want of discrimination, in not distinguishing between a State establishment and a State patronage, might labour for a while in the popular mind. But, it is believed, that the difficulty is not insurmountable. What is so plain, may be plainly shown. It is a libel on the understandings of a people well informed, to admit, that they cannot

be made to see this. No matter what sect they belong to, or whether they belong to none at all ; so long as a majority believe, that religion is good for the State, it can yet be patronised.

But it will yet be said, and not without some reason, “ that there is a deep and almost unconquerable prejudice in American minds, yet to be subdued—if it is ever subdued at all—that religion prospers best independent of State patronage, when left to itself, protected, indeed, and unmolested, but soliciting the good will and charities of mankind”—as if money bestowed in charity, while lying in the hand, or negotiated for any necessity of life, were a different thing from money required for a valuable consideration ; as if that which is allowed to be most important for man’s temporal, as well as eternal, weal, could be equally respected, and equally influential, while it goes begging for bread, as when it is installed in a position accordant with its acknowledged merits ; and, as if—since money is allowed to be necessary—a small fraction of a given amount required for a specific object, were equally valuable, and would go as far, as the whole, because it is derived from one source, and in one way, rather than in another. Besides, so far as the principle of voluntaryism is concerned, how, it may be asked, is the support of religion less voluntary, when ordered by a people represented, in a manner to satisfy all parties—when all agree that it ought to be supported—and in a capacity in which they have some character at stake, than

in a more private way, when, if they do what is adequate, they must still do the same thing? But, if they are willing to disgrace themselves, debase religion, and reduce the sacred office to a condition of servility and meanness, as well as to poverty and destitution, then by all means let them make religion immediately dependent on avarice and worldly-mindedness, so that every one who loves money more than his soul and the good of society, may gratify this sordid passion, without a blush, because he can do it without public cognizance; and so that Christianity, its ordinances, and offices, may be exposed to the contempts of the vile, and to the obloquy of the profane. Will men, as a body, put as much in a charity box, when their gifts are known only to themselves, as when their donations are brought fairly before the public? We know, indeed, that the former is the Scripture mode of doing that which may properly be called charity; but we are now speaking of those burdens of society, which, it is confessed, should be fairly distributed among those who reap the benefit. Was it ever proved in these times, though it has often been tried, that a Christian congregation could meet all their pecuniary exigencies by a mere plate collection on the occasions of their public assemblies, however frequent and eloquent the appeals and exhortations, to the generosity of the attendants? Does any State ever trust to such expedients for the support of itself and its various institutions, or for the attainment of its other objects? And when the State has

once confessed, and solemnly declared, in its Bill of Rights and Constitutional law, that religion is of all things most important, even in a political point of view, and for the purposes of the social state, where is the consistency in abandoning it to a contingency most precarious of all, or rather most sure of all to disappoint the purpose in view, and to which it would not consign a single one of its other most unimportant interests? If, indeed, it be the unavoidable doom of religion, then there is nothing to be said. But, if it be the application of an erroneous theory, something, possibly, may be gained, by the discussion of the subject.

We are fully convinced, that religion in America cannot be admitted to share in political legislation and government, by a participation in the authority of these offices; and that no State religious Establishment can be set up, that shall favour any one or more sects, to the neglect, or disadvantage of others. Nor do we desire to see it, as it would be a manifest injustice, and a reasonable ground of complaint. Neither are we any the less convinced of the truth of M. de Tocqueville's statements, "that there is no country in the world where the Christian religion retains a greater influence over the souls of men than in America; and that the Americans hold it to be indispensable to the maintenance of republican institutions;" and consequently, that a people entertaining these feelings, when once the inadequacy of the voluntary system shall be proved, may be expected to support such

measures as may be necessary to accomplish their own aims. Let them once be convinced—as we think it possible they should be—that a direct patronage of religion is not identical with a State Establishment, in the usual and obnoxious sense of that term, nor any necessary approximation to it ; that the appropriation of any amount of the public revenues towards this object, no more involves the principle of an Establishment, than that appropriations for war involve the principle of a military government, or for the expenses of Ministers at foreign Courts, the principle of foreign domination ; or for internal improvements, the principle of subjection to that specific policy ; or that appropriations for any other public objects, involve the principle of elevating those interests to the high offices, and installing them in the places, of that Government, on which they depend for patronage and existence ;—let the people once see, that such is the true light and real state of the question, and they would well deserve the doom of a people living without God, if they should still refuse to render, by legislative enactments, all that support and patronage, that may be necessary to give religion that influence and efficiency, which they themselves acknowledge to be indispensable to the well-being of the State, to the maintenance of its institutions, and to the furtherance of their objects.

There is a cant idea extensively prevalent in America, and through the Christian world, clothing itself with a diversified cant phraseology, asserting in

amount, that Christianity, originally depressed and despised, must for ever remain so ; as if it were not the scheme of Christianity to rise in the world, and absorb its empires in one. It is equally a political and religious cant ; and so long as it prevails, it will necessarily be an obstacle to the progress of Christian civilisation, and to the attainment of the Millennial state of human society. Obviously, a fair interpretation of the language of the Bible contemplates this end, and nourishes this expectation. It opens a vision of the future, when true religion shall be held in the highest honour, and when the kings of the earth shall submit themselves to the King of heaven. And yet the great political maxim of the age seems to be—and Christians themselves extensively fall in with the cry, at least practically sustain it—“ Down with the Galilean,” and keep him down. However shocking such a sentiment may appear, it is the naked form of that worldly policy, which studies and contrives to hold Christianity in a state of depression and disgrace.

We shall now proceed to set forth, as well as we may be able, the operation, tendencies, and results of the American Voluntary System for the support of religion and its institutions.

There is an indirect and reflective action of this system, in consideration of the relative position which the State assumes, which favours infidelity, and detracts largely from the appropriate influence of Christianity.

Such a position of a Christian State is a concession to infidelity, that Christianity is not worthy of confidence, and that it is a scheming, dangerous power. It puts Christianity in the predicament of proscription and banishment from the social pale of good faith. It not only fosters infidelity, and strengthens its ground, but puts in its mouth a powerful argument, and in its hands an efficient weapon. It gives it warrant to say with no little force—"Are not Statesmen, and they who guide the State and manage its affairs, the most intelligent, the best informed, and most worthy of confidence in political matters? Is not their opinion and their judgment worthy of respect? Behold, then, they have solemnly adjudged this invention, called Christianity, a pestilent device, and its advocates a troublesome and seditious sect. It is true, they have bestowed on it some compliment, in a polite sort of way, in the riddance they have given it; but the best proof of the respect they have for it, is the exceeding pains they have taken to keep it at a distance, to have no communion with it, to leave it to take care of itself, and to see, that it shall never step beyond the limits which they have assigned to it."

Is there no argument, no influence, in this great fact? Does it not operate silently and powerfully upon all the world? A man walks and associates with a friend, whom he has adopted into his confidence and affections, and whom he believes to be worthy. But to his surprise and grief he discovers that his friend has not the confidence of the public; and that

they who had known him before, and who ought to have known him better than himself, avoid him? Does he not begin to fear—to suspect? Is it possible, that he should still repose the same confidence, and feel the same affection? Even after he may have re-examined his friend's character, and found him an abused, persecuted man, can he have the same pleasure in his society? Can he appear with him in public with the same proud satisfaction, and feel as if he were honoured? Much more, will this banished individual be able to extend his acquaintance in that circle, of which he is most worthy, but in which he already stands proscribed?

So Christianity, in the free Republic of America, has been stamped before the world, with this seal of proscription from common good faith—and stamped by the highest possible authority. Statesmen in their high places, feel it; the magistrate feels it; the judge feels it; the private citizen feels it; all the world feel it; the Christian feels it; and the infidel triumphs over it. It is as impossible for Christianity to escape the blighting influence of such a fact, as for the sun to act on the bosom of the earth through the thickest cloud.

This system operates as a check to the advancement of Christian civilisation.

Christian civilisation is always in advance of other forms, in the smaller circles, and on the larger scale; and wherever Christianity is in disgrace, kept back, and depressed; wherever it is not permitted to keep

pace with general society, and is disqualified from acting its legitimate part, its intended purpose for improvement—wherever it is not admitted to full confidence, as a gentle handmaid, purifying morals and refining manners, there human civilisation is necessarily in check. Christianity is an angel genius, a pure, ethereal, heaven-aspiring quality, lifting man above himself, pointing him to the highest earthly destiny, bringing him at last to the gate of heaven, and opening its portals to usher him in. It is a spirit, which can only perform its last offices, when it is not wounded by want of faith. And this is true with individuals, with families, with larger communities, with nations.

Civilisation supposes society; and we are not aware, that any more perfect model has yet been offered than that to which Christianity aims and is calculated to produce. Wanting this auxiliary, human society lacks an element indispensable to its perfection; and just in proportion as Christianity is kept in the back-ground, will this high destiny of man fail to be attained. Christianity must be in the confidence of individuals, of families, and of nations, to have its perfect work in either of these prerogatives of its empire; and that confidence must be unqualified, unabated.

But the very supposition of that state of society, which exists in America, assumes, that Christianity is in disgrace; that it has heretofore, and in other places, behaved so badly, as to be unworthy of con-

fidence ; and that it is put on probation for the acquisition of a good name. And the very circumstances of this probation, and the doom of disadvantage to which it is subjected, so long as it exists in its present shapes and relations, interpose an insuperable barrier to the earning of that name, which is made the condition of its acquittal from the charge that lies against it. It is admitted, that Christianity in its place, is a good thing ; but it is taken for granted, that it is not destined to be a leader in civilisation ; that it is not fit to stand side by side with the best things ; that society, in the career of improvement, is to march onward, without troubling itself to take Christianity to regulate its aspirations, and by refining its morals, to refine its manners. And to induce the American public to change this opinion, it is necessary to rescue Christianity from the doom to which this opinion has consigned it. In other words, so long as this opinion prevails, this doom must also prevail. For the former is the cause of the latter ; it sets itself up as the law-maker and jailor over Christianity.

It is curious, and not a little instructive, to observe, that the French, a very gallant and rather ambitious race, but not addicted to be religious, much less to be the abettors of the scheme of the Man of Galilee, since it fell into disrepute by having been in bad hands, or rather by the perversion of its designs—have got up in Paris *La Société de la Civilisation*, as a *ne plus ultra* of philanthropic effort, a sort of mis-

sionary institution, to convert the world to good manners. Wanting that soul which Christianity alone can inspire, it is not strange that the world should have heard little of its achievements, and that the utmost scope of its operations should have been limited to occasional volunteer lectures, and a semi-monthly journal of its proceedings. Civilisation, without Christianity, is a greenhouse plant, or like the imperfect and unproductive vegetation of a cave ; and for the perfection of civilisation, Christianity must be allowed full scope and a perfect work.

Having thus incidentally directed attention to the French character, we may seem called upon, in such a train of remark, to reconcile the facts of their history, as a highly civilised people, with our present doctrine. It is enough to point the finger to those scenes which were enacted around the falling, and upon the fallen, throne of Louis XVI. to determine the claims of the French nation, while living without God, to the highest degrees of human civilisation ; or what civilisation is, without Christianity.

Another error of the American theory on this subject is—what, indeed, we have already indistinctly attended to—“ that, as Christianity began in a state of depression, and prospered so well, depression is the principle of its vitality. If it rose then, it can rise now, and ever, by its own inherent powers. It is at least more convenient, and less expensive, to leave it to itself. With a world opposed, did it not subdue the world ? And what hinders, when the world is

unopposed, that it should stand alone?" Aside from a consideration of the special aid of Heaven in bestowing miraculous power, the persecution of a holy and righteous cause, makes giants of mankind. Christianity has gained the stage of triumph over physical force, by controlling the moral, and for the most part has purchased to itself the privilege of toleration. But it has now to contend with a more refined opposition, viz. being left alone. With nothing to provoke into action those all-conquering energies of the human soul, which were developed under Christianity, while maintaining a strife for existence, and denied the gift of miracles, it relaxes, in the bosoms of its subjects, into the quietude generally awarded to it by the governments of this world, and asks leave to refine the violence which it has subdued, by the application of those emollients which it has in charge, to be used in a peaceful state of society. But it is indispensable, that its aims should be appreciated; that the subject to be operated upon, should be brought within its reach; and that the proper facilities should be provided.

It is admitted by the Americans, it stands confessed in their public and State documents, as we have seen, that Christianity is good—is best, for the State; that it is indispensable; and yet they hold it in check, in disgrace, with the brand of infamy stamped on its forehead, and are perpetually pointing to the mark, as a justification of their treatment. They refuse to provide it with the facilities necessary to accomplish

the end, which they acknowledge it is calculated to produce. They coax it to be grateful for the privilege of toleration, and heap upon it empty compliments, to be excused from the burden of its maintenance. While they praise it for the good that is expected of it, they leave it to go begging, and insult its misery by requiring it to make brick without allowing straw.

Admitting that the junction of religion with the State, in the form of an Establishment, entitled to share in the action of its authorities, has done evil in other times and countries, the Americans have thoroughly excluded it from that place. It is impossible, without an entire change from opposites to opposites, in the Constitution of the States and in that of the nation, in the codes of statutes, and a thorough revolution in public sentiment, blotting from history and from memory the records of the past, that the Americans should return to such a system ; and they dishonour their own judgments in affecting to be afraid of it. There is no such tendency in the world ; above all things, none such in America. What possible excuse, then, can there be, for not wiping away the disgrace that rests upon religion, and receiving it into good society ; for not restoring it to public confidence ; and for not extending to it that patronage which is necessary to make it respectable and properly influential ? Still, however, that millstone of vulgar prejudice hangs upon its neck, that it is not fit for such an elevation ; that it is not safe to repose in

it such confidence ; and that it was never designed for an intimate alliance, even in affection, “to the powers that be.” The divorce between religion and the State, it is said, must be thorough, and must be for ever maintained. We like religion in its proper place, and at a proper distance ; but as its kingdom is not of this world, as it was set up without worldly patronage and against worldly opposition, in the midst of contempt, obloquy, and mortal persecution, surely it can ask no more at our hand than the field that is opened to it by toleration. It professes to depend on heavenly aid ; we have no objection ; but will take care that it have no aid from us, and that it do not interfere with our concerns.

If, indeed, the genuine spirit of Christianity is the best influence that can possibly be introduced into human society ; if it is God’s design, that human society shall be made perfect thereby, and only thereby ; and that to this end it must of necessity be admitted to unqualified respect and confidence, in its own proper forms, and into the most intimate alliances with the purest and holiest sympathies of mankind—itself the author, nourisher, and sustainer of them—then the great experiment of American society, in its present position and relations to Christianity, must be a failure. Without a change of practice, this result is inevitable.

It cannot but be remarked, that America presents one of the fairest and most hopeful fields, that was ever opened on the world, for carrying Christian

civilisation to the highest point of perfection, to a very Millennium of the human state, if the active religious elements existing there, were properly taken in hand, rightly directed, and discreetly employed ; if the Government of the country were consistent with its own professions, and would consent to become, in Scripture phrase, “ the nursing parent of the Church.”

We observe further, *that this American system of voluntarism has called into existence and action an anomalous spiritual power, more formidable to the State, than any alliance of Church and State that has ever been devised.*

In bearing off from the rock of Scylla, the American ship of State is fast being drawn into the whirlpool of Charybdis. Better, far better, for the State to have maintained an alliance of any form with religion—even after the obnoxious model—in order to secure a proper control over it, than to have made such a power independent of itself, and to have sent it adrift to its own devices, with a field open before it for the setting up of a rival empire. The political power of religion, as we have shown in another place, cannot be suppressed, nor in any way prevented. It has always had political influence, both in Christian and Pagan lands, and always will. The nature of man, and the elementary composition of society, must first be changed, before it can be otherwise. Religion is the most potent element of the social fabric.

The theoretical mistake of American Constitutional

legislation, in regard to religion, was, in assuming, that it is possible so to divorce religion from the State, as to disarm it of political power. It is not surprising, therefore, that such a wide mistake in theory, as it applied to the construction of American society, should have become momentarily practical in its results. Having cut off religion from all authoritative connexion with the State, assigning for the act a reason which covered religion with disgrace, because it was an implied impeachment of its character at the bar of the public, and having resolved to leave religion to its own resources and powers, with a gracious promise of protection in all its forms of action, corporate and otherwise, provided it should not disturb the public peace, nor trespass on other recognised rights, it was a natural consequence, that religion should devote itself to the task of devising and setting up a polity of its own; and there was a good pretext—a sufficient apology for doing it.

It may be remarked, that there is a fair equality of talent in the religious world of America, as compared with the political. We think, indeed, that the talent actually engaged in these two fields, is much greater in the former, than in the latter. The Democracy of America does not ordinarily select the greatest talent for its public offices, but prefers that which is nearer to itself, being always jealous of power. The most accomplished and gifted men of the republic are too high above the people to have

their full confidence ; and besides, the constant rotation of office in the State, after the democratic fashion, necessarily brings to its government inexperienced and unskilful hands. By the time, and even before, they learn how to govern, they are succeeded by others, who must pass through the same school, and be out of it, before they are half educated. There are some exceptions to this, it is true ; but such is the principle, and such, generally, is the fact.

But, in the religious world, the leaders and governors, once in office, never go out. They are educated for that sphere, and are always at home in it. Whatever, therefore, be the appropriate field of their empire, they are accomplished, experienced, skilled. And it may be said with truth, that the talent actually in use, in the American religious world, whether we consider its order or amount, is always and greatly superior to that engaged in affairs of State. " In America," says De Tocqueville, " you meet with a politician where you expect to find a priest ;" and he might have added—an adept in the science. The educated clergy of the country have more science and more general information, than the leading politicians and the public officers, as a class ; and the leaders among the former have more practical tact in their own sphere, than those of the latter in theirs.

America is a world of novelties ; and the Religious and Benevolent Society system, at which we have glanced in a former chapter, and set forth somewhat of its importance, is an *event* ; and we doubt not

will be marked as such in future history. In America, it is a stupendous invention of the age. Left to itself, religion was forced to adopt some expedient to supply that deficiency which the want of State patronage had created ; and it fell upon this. The religious wants of the country—not to speak of those of the world, which American Christians affect to have taken in charge—were confessedly great, and rapidly and alarmingly increasing, with the unexampled growth of the country. The State, which was a witness of this spectacle, which ought to have been the guardian parent and provider for these wants, and which had acknowledged the importance of such provisions, unnaturally turned away its eyes, its heart, and its hand from the scene. It refused to do anything, except rarely to grant some paltry pittance for common education, and now and then to give a little lift to literary institutions of a higher order.

Hence the demand on the religious world, for some action to meet the exigency—an action which seemed to require the creation of a machinery adequate to accomplish the end ; and hence the *Era* of the Religious and Benevolent Society system. Nobody anticipated what it would come to ; for it was a new thing under the sun ; neither did it enter into the hearts or counsels of the originators to do so much. But so it has happened : America beholds in this creation a stupendous spiritual dynasty, which, in the exclusive monopoly of its multiplied, various,

well-devised, well managed, exceedingly productive, comprehensive, and ever active agencies and influences, does more to form and control the public mind of the country, in regard to religion, politics, and everything, than all other influences put together.

It is the sole fault of the State, in the neglect of its own solemn and sacred duties, that has brought into being this rival and powerful empire—an empire, over which the State has no control, and cannot have. The career of these two powers is like the movements of two contiguous bodies, describing parallel lines, which may always be in sight of each other, and destined to encounter only when one or the other shall see occasion for approach and collision ; or when some unforeseen and disturbing impulse shall force them together ; or some attractive affinity draw them into the same line of movement. As yet they occupy two concentric spheres, but have atmospheres, and are worlds, apart, and act as independently of each other, as is possible for any two separate agencies. While the State has its principles and sphere of action well defined, this new spiritual power has no definite principles of action, except for the time being ; but it is ever accommodating itself to circumstances and exigencies, and it is for ever extending its domain and augmenting its power.

The State, having once disclaimed this sphere of action and this branch of jurisdiction, can never consistently attempt to occupy the one, or recover the other. Both have for ever eluded its grasp, so

long as it may please its rival to hold on to its possessions and influence. And it is a singular fact in the constitution of American society, that the nominally spiritual has a wider scope of action and of influence, than the nominally political; and consequently, there is no reason to anticipate, that the former, having once tasted the sweets of influence, will ever abandon its ground to the latter. It has, therefore, happened, in the progress of a single age, in a great political experiment of divorcing Church and State, for the sake of limiting and curtailing the powers of the former, that a stupendous spiritual dynasty has arisen, adequate to control the State and defy its power. Had the State in America consented to patronise religion directly, to the extent of its necessities and rightful claims—which would have been perfectly consistent with the declarations of its political charters—it would have barred this result, and gained the end contemplated by its policy. But it is now too late.

It is the weakness of the American government, in the extremely relaxed condition of its political ties, that gives this spirited power such advantage. The former can never strengthen itself, but is perpetually growing weaker, by the increasing prevalence of the democratic principle. It can never guard against or check the advancing power of this rival, there being no principle in the government to reach the case; while the latter can go on without hindrance, can throw the mantle of its influence over the public mind, and form it to its liking. The

political power supervises the great machine of society, while the spiritual attends to the minor parts, of which it is composed, and thus controls the whole.

With singular and exemplary prudence these Religious Societies have almost uniformly kept out of the range of the political action of the State, and have been careful not to interfere with it. One notable exception, however, is now in a career of vigorous, and somewhat violent agitation. We allude to the American Anti-slavery Society, and its multiform agencies, of which we have spoken in another place. This is a religious enterprise, and has set itself up under an organisation of exactly the same type with all the other kindred institutions. We say religious—as it is well known to have originated in religious sentiment, and to be sustained and carried on by religious men. But its field of action in America is purely political. It encounters directly and immediately the political fabric of the country, and cannot proceed a step without such a collision. It does not hesitate to resort to political powers, and is now principally occupied with such agencies. The American public will have found, before they are likely to be done with the action and influence of the American Anti-slavery Society, that all these institutions are formidable beyond what was ever suspected, when they may happen to come into collision with the powers of State; and that they have means of forming and influencing the

public mind, the extent and power of which were never dreamt of.

Again : *The voluntary system of supporting religion in America, is inadequate to the purpose.*

It is inadequate even with all the advantages of the Religious Society system. It cannot be denied, that these efforts have accomplished something towards supplying the religious wants of the country. Hundreds of young men have been educated for the Christian ministry, which would not otherwise have been devoted to this calling ; the new settlements, and other places destitute of religious teaching, have been provided with these privileges, to no inconsiderable extent, by Domestic Missionary Societies ; bibles, religious tracts and books, have been thrown out upon the country in great numbers ; irreligion and vice, in their various forms, have been attacked and in some measure subdued, and the interests of religion and the cause of virtue advanced, as is generally allowed, by the efforts of these Religious and Benevolent Societies. But these benefits are overstated and overrated by the advocates and managers of the system. It is a system that makes a great parade and a great noise, but accomplishes little in proportion to these demonstrations. As it is a mendicant system, the monies collected by all of them put together, in the course of a year, are not very great ; and no small fraction of this is necessarily expended on the vast and complicated machineries that are organised to keep it in motion.

It would appear from the American Almanac for 1838, that the gross annual income of twelve of the principal and more important of these Societies, is 913,990 dollars. It is quite likely, that the income of others not named in this list, might swell the reckoning to 1,000,000 dollars, more or less. In the absence of data to determine exactly the gross amount of the annual expenditure in the United States for religious purposes, we are compelled to resort to conjecture, which, it must be confessed, is somewhat hazardous. There are, however, sundry guides by which a statement may be risked. We know the number of clergy—honouring all ministers of religion with this appellation—and can judge nearly the average sum requisite to support them, setting aside a moiety of the number as receiving no compensation for their labours. We know also, that large sums are expended annually for the building of churches, or places of worship, which in cities cost from 10,000 to 100,000 dollars each; in the country from 500 to 5,000 dollars. Both these items must be considerable, comprehending their gross amount throughout the country; especially when we consider, that church-building is a very large item in growing cities, and in those new settlements, which are far enough advanced to be able to afford it. If, for example, we assume, that the religion of the country, in these two principal items, costs as much as its education—it may be more, or it may be less, by a considerable fraction—we have the authority of the North Ameri-

can Review, for October, 1838, that the annual expense of education in the State of Massachusetts, is 842,000 dollars; of which 465,000 dollars is raised by taxes; 328,000 dollars for private schools; and 48,000 dollars being voluntary contributions. There is probably no State in the Union, that does more for education, in proportion to its population, than Massachusetts; while the majority does much less; and some very little. It is sufficient for our present purpose—at least, wanting the means of accuracy, we are compelled to the resort—to suppose, that the education and religion of the United States, cost annually for each, comprehending all modes of expenditure, 12,000,000 dollars. If we were to alter this statement, we should rather reduce, than raise it; and should be about as well satisfied with 10,000,000 dollars. But, as we have fairly stated it to be conjectural, on the basis of the facts alluded to, we leave it in this shape.

Assuming, therefore, 12,000,000 dollars as the annual expenditure for religion in the United States—the largest part of which, doubtless, goes to the building of churches, in the present state of the country—it will appear, that the sum raised by the Religious and Benevolent Society system, is as one *twelfth*—or taking the lower estimate, as one *tenth*—to the whole. However considerably the exact cost of religion in the United States may differ from our supposition, there is enough of probability in it, to show, that the amount raised by the Society system

is very small, compared with the influence it has acquired; and that its power is to be reckoned in the inverse proportion to its pecuniary resources. It is an admirable system of politics of its own order. It raises up and trains men to the arts of combining moral power on a large scale. It educates practical statesmen for the religious world; and by the power of the press, they are able to extend and exert an influence to an indefinite and amazing amount. The medium by which they accomplish this end, is not only made to sustain itself, but is turned to a source of profit, in the sale of their tracts, journals, and periodicals. In the mean time the old system of religious action goes on quietly, sustaining the great burden, and doing the great amount of good; while the new, along with the good it does, is well engaged in extending and confirming its influence.

How far that part of the system of supporting religion in America, which appeals to the pride and public spirit of the citizens, in erecting and maintaining religious institutions on a respectable footing, in towns, cities, and villages, and among rival sects—and in this manner operating as a species of constraint—is worthy to be called voluntary, we pretend not to say. But this comprehends by far the greater sum, that is raised and appropriated to these objects. All the rest is a mere fraction in comparison. And yet it is allowed, and made a topic of grievous lamentation, that the religious wants of the country are

most inadequately supplied. And such, indeed, we believe to be the fact.

Moreover, the American system of supporting religion has brought about great instability in the religious world, and induced a ruinous habit of change.

When a church, or place of worship, has been erected by a religious corporation, the principal item of annual expense, is the support of the clerical incumbent. His salary is generally determined by the views of the middle classes of his flock, as to what may be *absolutely necessary*; and of course small enough, and almost invariably too small, for the comfort of one, who, in most cases, has been educated in a manner, and accustomed to habits of living, much above his providers. They can neither appreciate his wants, nor his feelings; and being themselves influenced by a democratic standard of equality, they rather prefer to see their clergyman reduced to their own level. At any rate, having a voice in this matter, they will not contribute to raise him above themselves. Almost invariably straitened at the best, the moment he can find a chance for doing better, he has a strong motive for improving it.

Besides, popularity is the measure of a clergyman's comfort in America; and he is generally most popular at first, before his imperfections, if he has any—and who has not?—are discovered. Then his support, or the willingness to make it out, begins to flag; and there are many ways in America, by which a con-

gregation, when they become dissatisfied with their pastor, can make him uncomfortable, and force him to seek another place. The strongest power is reducing his maintenance, or yielding it in a manner to give pain to his feelings. And what, with the temptations of a more hopeful condition, and the annoyances of the present—and being always in the power of the voluntary principle—he is doomed to frequent change.

There are few clergymen that can support their early popularity for a considerable time; and as soon as it declines, they must begin to think of providing elsewhere for themselves. They go—migrate—and for the same reason in an equal term of time, they are liable to be forced to migrate again. And thus there is no stability, but everlasting change, in the condition of the American clergy. *They* change, the *people* change—all is a round of change—because all depends on the voluntary principle. The clerical profession in America, is indeed like that of a soldier; always under arms, frequently fighting, and always ready for a new campaign—a truly militant state. A *Clergyman's Guide* would be of little use, so far as the object might be to direct where to find him. He is not this year where he was last.

Such a system makes the clergy servile, and the people tyrannical.

When the enmity of a single individual is sufficient to destroy a resident pastor's peace, and to break him up, how can he be otherwise than ser-

vile, if he has a family about him, to whom perpetual change is inconvenient and disastrous ? There is not a man in his flock, however mean and unworthy of influence, whom he does not fear ; and if he happens to displease a man of importance, or a busy woman, there is an end to his peace ; and he may begin to pack up. This perpetual bondage breaks down his mind, subdues his courage, and makes a timid, nervous woman, of one who is entitled, and who ought, to be a man. He drags out a miserable existence, and dies a miserable slave. There are exceptions to this rule, it is true ; because there are clergymen with talent enough to rise above these disadvantages, enforce respect, and maintain their standing, in spite of enemies. But that is the best state of society, doubtless, which operates best, under the action of ordinary abilities, in all professions—more especially in the clerical, as there are few temptations for extraordinary talent to engage in it. More commonly we are sorry to say, it is the lower order of talent that is found there ; and in a country where all depends on display, and present popular effect, it is an unenviable doom to be attached to that profession. The constantly operating cause increases the disease ; the cause is more active, as the victim grows weak ; it worries out existence, and all things in the circle of its influence, tend to worse—to final decay. At last the vulture will hover round to feed upon the carrion ; and that is an end of the matter.

The voluntary system of supporting religion provides not for the poor.

“Go ye, and tell John, the poor have the Gospel preached to them.” And it is, as we think, the duty of every Christian State to see to this. We are now speaking of the action of parochial politics, and not of missionary labour. The latter is for a state of barbarism, or for the more unsettled conditions of society. But Christian civilisation aims at the prevalence of knowledge and peace—at a settled state of the Commonwealth, wherein each one can “sit under his own vine and fig-tree, having none to molest or make afraid,” and where the pastors shall look after all the sheep.

But a parish, under the American voluntary system, is not a geographical district, comprehending the souls therein; but it is any such congregation of individuals and families, taken from the mass of the community, as the talents and popularity of a clergyman can draw and keep around him for the time being, by his especial devotion to them specifically and exclusively; and for the valuable consideration indispensable to his support, which they, in the plenitude of their bounty and free will, may be pleased to render, and so long as they please. In other words, it is not a parish, but a party, collected on party principles, because they are attached to-day, or this year, to a particular individual. It is uncertain, whether they will be so to-morrow, or next year. It becomes his interest, therefore, and his necessity, to

keep his Church full, if he can ; because it is the rent of the pews, or the same principle applied in some other form, on which he depends ; and he is compelled to devote himself to those who are able, and most able, to pay. As soon as his popularity declines—which seldom lasts long—and when it does, it is the exception, and not the general fact—the pews begin to be left vacant, and the Trustees, being a corporate body, must either send their pastor adrift, for a more popular man, or let the debts of the Church accumulate, and expose the building and its furniture to be sold under the hammer ; or else they must make a new bargain with the clergyman, to accept what little he can get, graduated by his popularity. This latter alternative is, perhaps, more frequently resorted to ; though it is not uncommon for Churches to be sold at auction for their debts, and to pass from one sect to another successively, like goods and chattels in profane use. This religious bankrupt system settles all accounts for the time, till the recurrence of the same necessity shall demand a like resort.

At best, the poor are unprovided for, and the talents of the clergy are always in the market to the highest bidder. There have been many attempts to remedy this evil, in the dense population of cities, by setting up a still more voluntary system, called “ Free Churches,” in which the pews are not rented, but free to all. But they are uniformly failures. The *more* voluntary, so much the worse ; and so

much the sooner it comes to an end. Even the Wesleyans, with all their system and tact for managing things on the voluntary system and in a cheap way, find insuperable difficulties in large towns, where the places of worship are necessarily expensive; and it seems to be confessed, that they must resort to pew-rent, and thus violate a fundamental principle of the sect. They have already begun to do it.

The voluntary principle tends to the multiplication of sects without end.

As there is always somebody unprovided for under such a system, some wandering sheep without a shepherd, there is always prey for a wolf. Or, as this harsh language is contrary to American taste, to make it more agreeable, we will say, there is always a chance for some new sect to improve upon all others that have gone before, and set up a system nearer to truth and primitive practice—which of course is pretended, and stoutly maintained; a chance, indeed, to show, that the world have all been in the wrong, until now. Hence religious sects start up in America so frequently, as to defy the most attentive statistical observer to keep the register.

Finally, we observe, that this voluntary mode of supporting religion is a mendicant system, and involves one of the worst features of the Church of Rome, viz. tending to the practice of pious frauds.

The whole system of the Religious and Benevolent Societies of America—which is the natural off-

spring of the voluntary mode—is based more or less upon this principle. We do not mean, that they are chargeable with authorizing it in counsel ; but that the operation of the system necessarily leads to it in practice. These institutions could not live a day without it, in their present magnitude and importance. The popular effect, necessary to support them, can only be produced by extravagant and exaggerated statements, by over-wrought and highly-coloured pictures, by that fervid eloquence which the imagination supplies, and sundry devices of this description, not unfrequently pure inventions, as they appear in the reports of the various agencies, in anecdotes, in public speeches and sermons, in tracts and books, in the journals and periodicals, and in other modes of operating on the public mind to screw and force it up to that pitch of interest and excitement, which is indispensable to the objects in view. This species of immorality sometimes enters into public subscriptions for religious and benevolent objects, and for literary and scientific institutions. There must be more or less of the fictitious, the obligation of which is to be dispensed with, for the sake of gaining that which is to be binding and available. The whole machinery and management of these various institutions are devised, and the plans executed, for effect, and in a way to be most productive. Such a system is undoubtedly pernicious to the morals of those concerned in and privy to these transactions ; and there must also and inevitably be a destined period of reaction.

We think decidedly, that the Americans have taken good ground, and the only ground practicable in their case, by excluding religion from all authority in the State. But we think also, that they have taken the worst possible ground in neglecting to provide for it, inasmuch as it was perfectly consistent with their principles to pursue the opposite course. The result of the policy that has been adopted seems to be, that the whole country is tending to a state of religious anarchy; and withal, that a spiritual power has arisen, far more formidable, in a political point of view, than the usual connexion of Church and State, as known under that name—because, in a country, where the political tie is so relaxed, as under the Democracy of the United States, this dynasty is capable of exerting more influence than the Government, and of for ever eluding its control.

It is, perhaps, problematical, whether the Americans can ever be made to see, that patronizing religion, as a political measure, for the good of the State, does not involve an alliance of that nature, which is commonly called the Union of Church and State. At present, certainly, they do not appear to be prepared for it. But it may be set down as a maxim, that the nation which reduces Christianity to a state of beggary, and holds it in that condition, can never arrive at the highest point of civilisation.

It is undoubtedly true, that religion, having authority in the State, has done mischief; and this is the ground of alarm in America, whenever it is

proposed to take it under patronage, lest it should prove a stepping-stone to power ; lest, having an inch conceded to it, it should take an ell. We have seen, however, that the political influence of religion cannot be prevented ; and moreover, that even in America, that very policy which has studiously endeavoured to bar it, by cutting it off alike from authority and patronage, and leaving it to itself, has set it up an independent power, of formidable aspects.

If America herself will not profit by this example, of her own history, other nations possibly may. It is certainly a notable example, and exceedingly instructive, inasmuch as like causes are sure to produce like effects in like circumstances. Church and State, so far as it supposes the investment of religion with State authority, we are personally opposed to, in principle ; but we hold, that it behoves every Christian State to honour religion, and to provide for its support ; that, if there be any interest of the State, which demands more tender care than another, it is that of religion ; that a nation " without God " cannot prosper ; and that just in proportion as a State neglects that moral culture of its component parts, which connects human society with the throne of heaven, it will fail to accomplish its most desirable destiny.

CHAPTER XIII.

AMERICAN FANATICISM.

THE religious patriotism of America has tasked itself with sundry and great plans of public reformation in religion, morals, manners, and politics; and to this end has instituted corresponding schemes, some on a grand scale of popular association, and others by individual enterprise. Nearly the whole of the religious world has entered into the movement in one form or another, and has moved the whole country, like a sea or forest, before the winds of heaven. In all these active operations, many of which, it is generally believed, are very useful,—though much more expectation has been based upon them than can ever in any probability be realised,—it should not be deemed strange, in such a country as America, and with such excitable and sanguine temperaments as generally characterise the people, that there is to be found no little of fanaticism.

That same spirit of fierceness which has characterised religious operations so extensively in America, for the advancement of religion itself, has been carried into these various departments of public

reform, and trampled on the decencies of civilized life and manners. It has been thought suitable, for example, to call the attention of mothers and daughters, over the wide country, to the condition and evils of brothels, and of common prostitution, in towns and cities; to send out agents (young men) to preach on the subject; and to organise subsidiary societies, after the usual fashion of all reforms. The Annual Report of "the New York Female Moral Reform Society," for 1838,—a very decent name, certainly, for the object,—announces 361 auxiliaries, and 20,000 members, with 16,500 subscribers—all females!—to the "*Advocate of Moral Reform*," a semi-monthly paper, published by the parent society, devoted to the text of the Seventh Commandment, and to the facts and results growing out of its violation. This same class of reformers have heretofore been accustomed to strike off prints of the most unmentionable scenes of these houses of pollution in their naked forms, and in the very acts of crime, for public display, that the public might know what they are: in other words, as may be imagined, to make sport for the initiated, to tempt the appetites and passions of the young, who otherwise would have known little or nothing about it, into the same vortex of ruin, and to cause the decent and virtuous to turn away with emotions of ineffable regret. It is fair, however, to say that this particular mode of action was not long tolerated.

In nothing, perhaps, has American fanaticism ex-

celled more than in displaying before the public the habits, forms, and statistics of vice and crime. The bosom of a community is like that of an individual. He who would wisely treat himself, must take care that he does not think of his vices to the neglect of his virtues. There has been a notable taste, prevalent under the regimen of a certain species of theology, for analyzing the moral affections, in order to exhibit the darkest shades of the human heart, to destroy self-respect and the habit of self-reliance. We question not the truth of the doctrine aimed to be established ; but the use made of it is fanatical, inasmuch as the system of truth is drawn out of proportion and symmetry, and exhibited in caricature. No person of common intelligence, with the Bible in his hands, and with the common amount of religious instruction under the ordinances of Christianity, can fail to discover that he is a lost sinner ; that his only hope of salvation lies in the atonement and offices of Christ ; and that the grace of God's spirit is indispensable to his proper fitness for living and dying. But the inevitable result of the habit of dwelling only on the contemplation of one's moral blemishes to be found within, instead of cultivating the virtues, will be to breed the faults, and to become melancholy and unhappy, uncheerful and disagreeable. Nothing can be more wide from the doctrine of Christ, or nearer to the essence of fanaticism, in one of its branches, than that the Messiah came to make us the slaves of fear, and to constrain us to be occupied *only*

in viewing and deploring the ruins of the fall. He that thinks of vice habitually, and only, will himself be vicious.

Dr. Dwight, late President of Yale College, once preached a sermon on the Seventh Commandment, which was heard with pain and confusion of face, and which can never be read in a promiscuous circle without exciting the same feelings. We say not that, in a system of theology such as devolved on him to exhibit in the round of his public duties, it was not proper to touch on this subject; but we think, notwithstanding, it would have been as well to touch it lightly.

But now the effort is making in America to discuss this subject universally and continuously, and to bring before the public, in promiscuous assemblies of male and female, a consideration of its disgusting details, as found in larger towns and cities and elsewhere. The common feeling on the subject has been declared false delicacy; and, in order to break ground against its sway, females have been forced into the van of this enterprise, and persuaded to act as agents, not only among their own sex, but in circumstances where they must necessarily agitate the subject with men,—not wives with husbands, which would be bad enough, but young and single women with young and single men! And we have been credibly informed that attempts have been made to form associations among wives to regulate the privileges, and attain the end of temperance, in the con-

jugal relation. The next step, of course, will be tee-totalism in this particular; and, as a consequence, the extinction of the human race, unless, peradventure, the failure of the main enterprise of the *Moral Reform Society* should still keep it up by a progeny not to be honoured.

It is painful to observe the effects of the temperance efforts on the American mind, in so far as they have absorbed public attention, in the consideration of the statistics and effects of intemperance, to the exclusion of purer and nobler objects of regard. The agents, numerous as the locusts of Egypt, talk and preach of nothing else; the friends and advocates of the cause think and talk of little else; and the traveller, who may happen to move among these circles, is compelled to observe that the public mind is lowered and corrupted by an habitual contemplation of low and debasing topics. The statistics of vice, so abundantly furnished, are unavoidably corrupting in their influence; and the extravagant statements and reasonings, which generally characterise these efforts in America, precipitate and aggravate the result. The abuse of terms in the temperance logic, and the practice of denunciation, are not only violent and shocking to common feeling, but disorganising and demoralising in their influence, and tend to defeat the aims of the reformation,—first, by exciting disgust in all that portion of the community, without whose influence a general reformation can never be carried; and, next, by tempting the public

very extensively to side with those who are thus falsely and fanatically accused. The very disclosures made by the Temperance Society are, to a great extent, of a character to tempt to the use of intoxicating drinks, rather than to dissuade from it: for they always prove two things which otherwise would have been unknown,—first, a great consumption of intoxicating drinks in circles of society known and believed to be sober, in despite of the aspersions and rude charges of the temperance reformers; and, next, that all these respectable classes, in consequence of the fanaticism of the Temperance Society and its advocates, hold them in disrespect and contempt. The influence of such example is irresistible, and can never be subdued or counteracted so long as the fanaticism of temperance, or, rather, its fanatical intemperance, prevails. Anybody, whose appetite inclines, will continue the use of intoxicating drinks, because he finds himself, by the very documents of the Temperance Society, and by their own showing, in the most respectable company. He may not have known it before, but he knows it now. And all who desire peace, and who are shocked with uncharitable denunciation, retire from the scene, carefully avoid all contact with such disputants, and are uninfluenced even by the sounder parts of their logic, because they have lost all respect for such men, and are resolved to have nothing to do with them.

Another point of view, in which the fanaticism of the Temperance reformers is manifested, is their

invasion of the province of the Medical Faculty, and setting up an immense system of quackery, by flooding the public with volumes of certificates, private and professional—for there are members in every profession, that can be tempted into fanaticism—to prove, that alcohol is in all cases whatsoever an insidious poison; in its action on the animal economy, and can in no case be beneficial as medicine. Hundreds, not to say thousands, of men, whose lives were of real importance to the community, and whose untimely end is perhaps a greater loss than that of all the intemperate, have come to their death, if we may take the evidence of medical men and of common observation, by this cause, in connexion with abstinence from meat and a ruinous system of dietetics, which is another branch of the same species of quackery, and a twin sister of the same fanaticism, contemporaneous, growing up in the same soil, and from the same seed.

We might multiply the specifications of American fanaticism, of older and newer shapes, on a smaller and larger scale, as they have started up and been managed by individuals and associations. The land is rife with them. That unhinging of the public mind, which this propensity produces in any one of its grander forms of action, prepares the way for another, and another, and yet another, till they cluster and tread upon each other's heels. A widespread religious zeal, running riot for want of regulation, and which had gradually waxed into a spe-

cies of savageism, was well furnished and equipped. by the hardihood acquired in its wild and ungoverned career, for any crusade that might be started against the vices of the times.

We shall conclude, however, by a notice of one, that has just come into being, under the name of "The New England Non-resistance Society;" and which, we think, exhibits much promise of running as mad a career, as any that has preceded, and not unlikely is destined to outdo them all. For many years past there has been supported in America a rather ineffectual effort to get up a Peace Society, developing some projects on a grand scale, but unable to organise and put them in execution. It had not enough of war, of the fierceness of fanaticism, to promote peace; and therefore bid fair to die, without bequeathing to the world any considerable result. If they had been wise enough to get up a sort of bombardment on the public, like the spectacle of the siege of Antwerp, professedly undertaken to maintain the peace of Europe, they might possibly have succeeded better. But it is sometimes possible to combine two agencies for the accomplishment of an object, when one has proved insufficient; and there are sometimes found moral, as well as chemical, affinities, in things apparently very unlike. American Abolitionism had raised and trained some spirits, well charged with mercurial ingredients, and not remarkably pacific. An unsuccessful attempt, however, having been made to canonize Mr. Love-

joy, as a sainted martyr, who happened to die with arms in his hands, making, with some others, a stout resistance against a mob, which his own imprudence had raised, at Alton, Illinois, it seems to have been concluded, by his friends, or a part of them, to record in the pages of history, a disclaimer to the right of self-defence in such cases, by entering into a league with the Pacificators, under a new organization, as above named. It was formed at Boston, September, 1838, by a Convention of men and *women*, duly notified and called for that purpose, "from various sections of the American Union," as recorded in their minutes.

The Americans might well protest against the mission of such ladies from England as Miss Harriet Martineau, since, by her personal influence, or by her literary productions, or both combined, she has put into the heads of American women to assert their rights, and to claim a share in parliamentary deliberations and other affairs of State. It is true, indeed, that the American Abolitionists had developed a tendency that way, by their doctrines of amalgamation, as the dawning light of one step naturally imparted a glimpse at the propriety of taking another, and to acknowledge the equality of rights in the sexes. But still it is to be suspected that they were aided and abetted, in coming to this result, by the seditious labours of Miss Martineau.

This notable Convention was composed of 122 men and 42 women. This inequality of numbers in

the two sexes, probably resulted from an amiable diffidence on the part of the ladies, in making this first public demonstration of their political and social rights; and which, doubtless, will wear away in time, by the encouraging gallantry of the gentlemen, heretofore improperly called their lords. From the published journal of their proceedings, which extended to a three days' session, it appears, that the ladies took their part as members of Committees, as debaters, and in casting their votes—the ayes and noes, on all important questions, having been called for and recorded. The Committee to draft a Constitution consisted of *seven* men and *two* women—seven being a perfect number, and therefore necessary to balance the perfection of the women, who are always perfect, less or more of them. At the head of this Committee stands the name of William Lloyd Garrison, of notorious memory, as an American Abolitionist. The names of the two women are Maria W. Chapman and Abby Kelly.

That our readers may not be in the dark, as to some of the most remarkable principles of this Society, we will introduce a few sentences by way of extract, not thinking it worth while to occupy our pages with so extended a document as the Constitution and Declaration of Rights:—

“We cannot acknowledge allegiance to any human government. We recognise but one King and Lawgiver, one Judge and Ruler of Mankind. We are bound by the laws of a kingdom, which is

not of this world—in which there is no distinction of rank, or division of caste, or inequality of sex.—Our country is the world; our countrymen, all mankind. The interests, rights, and liberties of American citizens, are no more dear to us, than are those of the whole human race. The dogma, that all the governments of the world are approvingly ordained of God, is not less absurd than impious. We register our testimony, not only against all wars—but all preparations for war—and against every edict of government, requiring of its subjects military service. We believe, that the penal code of the Old Testament, ‘an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth,’ has been abrogated by Jesus Christ. As a measure of sound policy, we adopt the non-resistance principle. It appears to us a self-evident truth, that whatever the Gospel is designed to destroy at any period of the world, ought now to be abandoned. We may not fight in defence of property, liberty, life, or religion. We must obey ‘the powers that be,’ except in those cases in which they bid us violate conscience. It will be our leading object to devise ways and means of effecting a radical change in society. Tumults may arise against us. It may subject us to insult, outrage, suffering, and death. Our confidence is in the Lord Almighty. Having withdrawn ourselves from human protection, what can sustain us, but that faith which overcometh the world?—We advocate no Jacobinical principles. But while we shall ad-

here to the doctrine of non-resistance and passive submission to enemies, we purpose to speak and act boldly in the cause of God ; to assail iniquity in high places and in low ; to apply our principles to all existing civil, political, legal, and ecclesiastical institutions ; to be bold and uncompromising in bearing our testimony against sin.

“Firmly relying upon the certain and universal triumph of these sentiments, however formidable may be the opposition arrayed against us, and in solemn testimony of our faith in their Divine origin, we hereby affix our signatures.”

It will, perhaps, be asked, if such a Society as this, is likely to obtain and prevail in America? We answer, undoubtedly it is. It appears to be quite the thing for the time. Something new was required to satisfy the taste for extravagant opinions, which has been so largely gratified, and so long indulged ; and we doubt not, this project was shrewdly devised with that aim. There is now a change for the *women*. It is the best hit of all. Here are the leaders of Temperance and Abolition—a part of them certainly—shouting “Onward!” They say, “The triumphant progress of the cause of Temperance and Abolition in our land—*encourages us* to combine our means and efforts for the promotion of a *still greater cause*.”

The Editor of one of the most prominent religious journals of America, the New York Observer, says, “We are informed by a gentleman, whose employ-

ment has naturally led him to a knowledge of the facts, that these notions have spread much more extensively, and taken a much stronger hold, than has been supposed."

In reference to the event of the formation of this Society, a Boston Editor remarks ; "The tendency of the leaders of the moral and benevolent reforms of the day, to run into fanaticism, threatens to destroy the really beneficial effects of all associations for these objects. The spirit of propagandism, when it becomes over-zealous, is next of kin to the spirit of persecution. . . . The Benevolent associations of the day are on the brink of a danger that will be fatal to their further usefulness, if not checked. . . . The desire to do good is degenerating among these Societies, into a rivalry for superiority in advancing new and extraordinary positions, and forming novel and startling combinations. Extravagant ultraism is mistaken for moral courage ; and in the midst of lamentations at the total depravity of man, a class of purists are insisting upon *transcendentalism* as the basis of society and government. They seem too eager to wait for the gradual, healthful progress of improvement, and are rushing into extremes, in which the most impracticable theories are most vehemently urged.

" Look at the recent meetings of Benevolent Societies held in this City. Look at men of most estimable character and great excellence, once highly influential in benevolent and moral reforms, now al-

most labouring under moral hallucination, or so distracted between the extremes of different theories that the community has lost all confidence in their judgments, and their once widely-extended usefulness is narrowed down to the little circle of the transcendental Society in which they move, and is fast excluding them from all other relations to their fellow-men. A certain mental optical illusion has come over them. The rays of moral light strike them only in one line. They look through a little orifice, and for the time see only the one object, however small, which is placed before their vision.

“ The consequences are inevitable, and have *long* been developing themselves, until there is really danger of a *revulsion*, that will bury the good beneath the ruins of the whole system. Scarce any one of these Societies meets now, but a portion of its members are driven off into some impracticable theory. How much farther can this process, of boiling down these Societies into the quintessence of transcendentalism, go on, without the whole evaporating? These Societies are getting under the entire control of the intemperates.

“ Who will venture to identify himself with associations connected even with the noble cause of human liberty, when the first question presented, is not the rights of *men*, but the rights of *women* to become public declaimers, voters, magistrates, and officers, and to throw aside the apron and the needle for the cassock and the truncheon?

“ Who will avow himself of the sect of the peace-men, when, instead of *peace*, the first question mooted is *resistance* to all government and laws, under pretence that society is not made up of mutual concession, but that each member is to be, not only a law unto himself; but is to lay down the law for all others, or to cut them off as recusants, who deny the faith, if they falter in going the whole creed—the highest virtue of which consists in taking the greatest possible pains to get persecuted, robbed, imprisoned, hung, and murdered ?”

And is this Society likely to be a *fighting* Society after all? Undoubtedly. They are perfectly aware of the ground they stand upon, and that they cannot get persecuted—that is, duly punished—till they make war upon society. Hence their declared “ purpose to speak and act *boldly*, &c.; to *assail* iniquity, &c.; and to *apply* their principles to *all existing* institutions of society.” This corps have been known as eminent fighting characters; and they are not likely to lay aside their habits. They have not only intimated how they mean to act, but foretold the consequence: “ Tumults (mobs) may arise against us.” They intend to provoke them; and very likely will succeed. Many, doubtless, will have great pleasure in seeing them pelted; and if, perchance, any of them should get their brains knocked out by a brickbat, it will be the consummation of their desires—a glorious martyrdom.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONAL PARTY AND THE
DEMOCRACY—DANIEL WEBSTER AND HENRY CLAY.

THE American Government, as originally constituted, was of a republican stamp, and designed, as we think, by its framers, to occupy a midway position between a constitutional monarchy, and a proper democracy. The plan of the government was based on the representative principle in all its parts ; but the legislative, judicial, and executive functions were designed to be sufficiently removed from the source of their powers, to qualify them for the use of a discretion attempered by such wisdom and prudence, as might be hoped for in agencies so remote from popular passion, yet responsible to the popular will. But the democratic tendencies were too potent to allow this plan to continue in operation ; and the administration of the government has for the most part been democratic under a republican form.

If this distinction between democracy and republicanism is not appreciated at a glance, we beg leave to refer to our definition of democracy in the first chapter, where it is attempted to be shown, how the de-

mocratic principle is developed under different forms, ranging from its simplest state, up to the more complicated modes of civilisation. It is obvious, as we think, that a pure democracy is a very simple state of society, next to no society at all. But the democracy of America, very happily, has been compelled to work under a Constitutional Government; and by that means has been hitherto saved from that absolute wreck, which a great popular mass, unchecked and uncontrolled by constitutional and recognised principles of administration, naturally tends to. The operation of such a frame of government, for so long a period, has erected a polity and an edifice of civilisation, which cannot easily be broken down, and which will endure many shocks of the most fitful and obstinate radicalism.

Nevertheless, there has been a constant struggle between this Constitutional fabric and the democracy of the country; and this strife, as is generally thought, is by no means abated, but rather increased. From the earliest time of the Republic, there has always been a Constitutional and radical party, the one aiming to support a Constitutional government, and to form and guide the public mind by the principles of the Constitution; while the other, in the execution of a more easy task, has devoted itself to watch, consult, and humour the developments of the popular will, in its shifting moods. The relative position of these parties, and their doubtful chances, have forced them, as is common in such cases, to resort to party tricks,

in all forms that could be devised ; and in the use of this expedient, the advantages were principally on one side. That is to say : While the Constitutionalists could only plead the cause of the Constitution, by such arguments as were to be found in the case, and which always address themselves rather to a cool and sound judgment, than to feeling and passion ; the other party could always ring changes on the rights of the people, the will of the people, &c. &c., appealing to popular passion, tempting and provoking the democracy of the country into those excesses of liberty and equality, which are authorised by those who never inquire into the proper meaning of these terms, but use them in the utmost latitude of their signification, and in all forms of application most agreeable. Nothing is easier than to excite the jealousy of a democratic community, like that of America, against a party, who are supposed to maintain principles of Government, not indeed contrary to the popular will—which in its representative capacity originally devised and consented to them—but so far above the freaks and changing moods of that will, as in their operation would give it a chance to govern itself in its representative condition, when the coolness of judgment can maintain its empire. It always requires a second thought, and a comparison of two ideas at least, to arrive at a just view of a Constitutional government, and to estimate its importance. But a popular mass, excited and urged on by popular leaders, and jealous for their prerogatives, rarely

thinks twice—even when it thinks at all for itself—or troubles itself with the logic of the head. Barely to suggest an obstacle to the popular will, though it be founded on the Constitution, and grow out of its operation—a will which is always held sacred in a democratic republic—and it need not be surprising, if the Constitution be thrown aside to the winds, or trampled under foot. Any demagogue may lead, who will consent to be led, without reference to principle—who will be thoroughly obsequious to his masters.

While, therefore, the strife in Europe is between Despotism or an absolute Monarchy on the one hand, and a constitutional Monarchy on the other; in America, the strife is between a Constitutional republic, as originally set up, and a radical democracy. The storm of radicalism has been gathering and lowering in the American sky for an age, while the helm of the ship of State has, for the most part, been in its hands. The crew originally enlisted, though conscious of bad work at the wheel, have seen and felt, that their all was at stake, in the stake of the country; and have worked with untiring patience and sleepless vigilance, to buffet and weather the gale. Again and again have they seen the vessel mounting the breakers, and dashing onward to a rocky and frowning death; but with prudent caution and miraculous toil, they have barely escaped the doom. That faithful crew is still on board, still

facing the tempest with anxious care, and will perish with the wreck, or live to see their proud ship riding safely at her moorings "in the haven where they would be."

Lovers of their country, and sincerely attached to a republican Constitution, they see that the best interests of the former, and the sound principles of the latter, have been invaded, and are still beset, with radicalism; and how to remedy and ward off the evil, is the great and momentous question. A little while since, confident of the success and ultimate stability of American institutions, they are now becoming more diffident, and more anxious for the future; and they are accustomed to declare their apprehensions without reserve. They wish to see the Government administered on republican principles, and a return of the people to the good sense which characterised the framers of the Constitution. But they are perfectly aware of the apostacy from those principles in the actual Government of the country; and of the gradual advances and ascendancy of a radicalism, which threatens a dissolution and overthrow of the republic. The delicate position of the most elevated statesmen, on whom devolves the greatest responsibility, may suggest caution, and impose silence on their lips, not allowing them to utter all that they fear; but while such men are circumspect, feelings of uneasiness are pervading the most intelligent portions of the community; they

roll onward in the deep channels of thought ; they murmur like the distant thunder ; and mount to the heavens in earnest peals of advice.

Daniel Webster is one of the most prominent leaders of the American Constitutional party, and a man of whom any nation might well be proud. Like Atlas upon his base, Webster, having once planted his foot upon the ground of the Constitution, has stood unshaken ; like Atlas he has breasted, unmoved, the storms that have beat around him ; like Atlas, belted with clouds, Webster has girt himself around with the folds of the Nation's Charter ; and like the summit of Atlas, hoary with eternal frost, and beaming with the light of day, or gemmed with the stars of night, so the head of Webster is decked in the splendours of the Constitution, and set among the stars of the national escutcheon. Whenever the Constitution has been invaded in the Senate chamber of the nation, Webster has been found at his post, self-possessed and ready for the conflict, his dark brow frowning on his adversary, his high and fair forehead disclosing at the same time his towering, far-reaching thought and humane affections, his eye sparkling with indignation and beaming with honest patriotism, while his lips gave utterance to the deep-toned, inimitable accents of a voice that has ever been employed in the service of his country, and never more effectually, than when he stood up the defender and guardian of the Constitution. Unwittingly, and by a single dash of the pencil, he has drawn his own

portrait with a Master's hand :—" I am, where I ever have been, and ever mean to be, standing on the platform of the Constitution—a platform broad enough and firm enough to uphold every interest of the whole country. And *here* I shall ever be found." —*Speech in the Senate, March 12th, 1838.*

In manners, Mr. Webster is a plain, unpolished, New England republican, not positively offensive, though somewhat distant and reserved. His movements are without grace, at the same time that the native dignity and greatness of soul engraved on his countenance, in connexion with a manly person, inspire a respect and awe, not unlike the feeling created by the chisel of the best artists in their matchless representations of some of the greatest and gravest men of antiquity. In his presence, one feels as if a Senator of Rome stood before him. With a mind ever occupied in grave meditation, Webster is often taciturn and absent. Unpractised in the manners of polished life—though always moving in the best society, but superior to such cares—it is in the forum and in the Senate, that he rises so much above other men, as often to appear like a superior being, resident in the forms of humanity, and condescending to take part in the affairs of mortals. Ordinarily passionless in debate, it is only when some stirring and mighty theme has kindled up his soul, that he seems to be warm ; and then his warmth is rarely ardour. Ardour can hardly be said to belong to his temperament. It is his known coolness that gives character and effect

to his warmth. When Webster's soul is fired, all the world knows it is not without cause; when he sheds a tear, it is as if the pearly drop were seen trickling down the cheek of marble. It electrifies the assembly, like a miracle. The greatness of his soul, when moved, moves all around him, and carries all before him. No man has ever stood an adversary to Webster, in the American Senate, on a question of momentous and stirring interest, who has not felt his own littleness, trembled in apprehension, and quailed before the onset, of the encounter. Like as the avalanche, that gathers its strength in the wintry frosts of the Alps, and loosened from its hold by the rays of a summer's sun, descends irresistible into the vale below; so the great and unrivalled American Senator, not for like purposes of destruction, but in the sweep and power of his bearing, descends on all opposing obstacles. It is the strength of his mind, the preparations of study, the knowledge of history, and long practice of debate in the forum and in the Senate, together with a thorough comprehension of his subject and a right application of these endowments, which give him this superiority. Within the range of the Constitution, and in the field of all other law, in the political and civil history of his country, no American is so truly at home, as Webster—no other American can bring the great and practical principles, arising from these sources, to bear so directly and forcibly on questions of State. And all this power of thought lies naked to the observer, un-

adorned with graces of style, in the simplest forms of language, the Saxon composition always prevailing over the Classical. The untutored rustic will feel its force as much as the accomplished scholar. If we were called upon to define the secret of Webster's power, we should vest it in the long-protracted discipline of a great mind, under the guidance of good sense—a mind rarely moved with passion, but cool, deliberate, self-possessed, and always ready with its resources for action.

Next to Daniel Webster, comes Henry Clay, in the list of American Senators, and as an expounder and defender of the Constitution. But Webster and Clay are men of diverse mould, and can hardly be compared. Neither can be spoken of at the expense of the other. With the native ardour and chivalrous mien of a Southron, and with all the accomplishments of a finished gentleman, Henry Clay has united the sagacity and practical tact of the Statesman with the stern virtue of the patriot. He has adorned equally the places of a diplomatist abroad, and of a Senator and Secretary of State at home; and he is equally competent to govern a nation, as to hold a place in its counsels. The eloquence of Clay is lofty, bold, and thrilling; and his phrase, in some of its parts, always out of the region of commonplace, and equally surprising for its pertinency, beauty, and power. Mr. Clay is a Senator, that dares to acknowledge a God, and look up to heaven, while he stands in the assembly of his peers, and discourses eloquence for the weal of

the nation. His manuer is characterized by action, and his voice for its manly tones, its musical, and sometimes clarion, peals, making the easiest and most delightful transitions from a low bass to loftier keys, though not screaming, but piercing in its accents. As his soul kindles with his theme, he launches forth from common diction into the most surprising and expressive combination of terms. He can murmur like the thunder in the distance, or break on the ear like its startling peals; and he often glows and burns like the fires which produce it. He is addicted to bursts, to sudden flights, and lofty soarings; but is careful to chasten them with such sober and well-conned meditations, as not to sacrifice his dignity, or his influence. From the loftier elevations and most distant glances of his fiery thought, he is sure to be found standing on his feet and at his table in the Senate chamber, confronting his adversary, and ready for the quickest reply to any challenge. While the lover of elegant diction and of poetic imagery is gratified to the full, the sober matter-of-fact listener feels that it is done for himself. Popular in his manners, he disarms his enemies of prejudice, and wins the confidence and affection of all that approach him. A perfect gentleman at the levee and drawing-room, and the charm of the coteries that hang upon his lips in these more polished circles, he can mingle with equal address with the rudest sons of Kentucky, grasp the hand of the rustic, and talk with him as with a brother and an equal. By the proof of a long

life devoted to the service of his country, Henry Clay stands up before the world a man of chastened and well-balanced private and public virtue, "An honest man's the noblest work of God."

On Webster and Clay, in no small measure, in connexion with a phalanx of coadjutors, many of whom are scarcely less worthy of mention, hang the destinies of republican empire in America.*

* Note P.

CHAPTER XV.

THE JACKSON DYNASTY.

IT is thought, and not without reason, by the grave observers of the times, that a new *era* has come over the American republic, by the elevation of a democratic idol, in the person of a military chieftain, to the chief magistracy of the nation, whose administration, for the term of eight years, from 1829 to 1837, was characterized by a singular boldness and determination. We will briefly notice some of the more prominent features of that dynasty, which seems likely to be eventful in its consequences.

First, as to the character of the man. General Jackson is generally allowed to be a man of honest, straightforward purpose; of some experience in affairs of State, in the use of political stations awarded to him progressively by the public; of a talent well fitted for military service, as demonstrated in his campaigns against Indian tribes, and in civilized warfare—if the term *civilized* is applicable to such transactions;—but a man of great independence and decision of character, and of a pertinacity of temper bordering on stubbornness, and verging to despotism, when he

is opposed. The rapid and effective movements of the Seminole campaigns, and the affairs of New Orleans against the invasion of the British army, are proof, on the one hand of his military tact, and soldier-like energy; while the hasty execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister in Florida, on his own responsibility, the arrest of a United States Judge, and the Cromwell-like process of ejecting the Legislature of Louisiana from their own halls, and closing the doors against them, are instances of great boldness, at least, if not of despotic authority. But as these transactions were connected with important events, beneficial to the State, they were overlooked, though severely criticized.

One of the first bold movements of Jackson's administration, and which apparently originated in his own bosom, was the adoption of the policy, and instituting measures, for the removal of all the Indian tribes to regions west of the Mississippi. There were strong reasons for and against this measure. One of the most formidable against it, was the existence of public and solemn treaties, between the Government of the United States and these Indian nations, recognised as such in the national Constitution, and by a long course of legislation and treatment in relation to them. The practical operation of this great measure demanded, that the rights secured by these treaties, so far as they were in the way, should lie in repose. The new arrangements have also been called treaties; but we think not with

much propriety, for it was a business of one party. The measure being resolved on, the formality of treaty was rather an insult to the Indians, as they must go, whether they would or not. It would have been far more honourable to the Government of the United States, if it had assumed, that the old arrangements, called treaties, had nothing of the validity usually attached to such instruments; and that the relation of the Government to the Indians was parental, investing only one party with authority and power, and imposing on the other submission and acquiescence.

The progress of these events brought before the National Judiciary the question of Indian rights, as guaranteed by these treaties; and in the case of *Worcester versus* the State of Georgia, obtained a decision in 1831, comprehending and covering the great principle of the measure of removal. This decision, if respected, was a bar to the policy. But things had gone so far, that they could not stop, and the authority of the Court was trampled under foot.

Such a record, proving insufficient in the hour of need, and compelled to sleep when challenged to action by the injured party, may well be regarded as destined to speak from heaven's chancery in the events of Providence; besides, that the result has determined a mortifying and ill-boding question, viz. that the authority of the highest tribunal of the nation may be contemned. This is an *event*, and the first of the

kind that has occurred in the history of the American Republic.

After much political struggle and remonstrance, the people of the United States have sustained the measure, and the party in power has carried it into execution. In the mean time strong symptoms of disastrous result are being manifested. In the first place, the Florida Indian war, growing out of this affair, and already of some years' duration, has proved that small bands of Indians are capable of maintaining a struggle of indefinite continuance, even against the powers and resources of the United States, from the impenetrable morasses and wilds of so small and sea-girt a territory, as Florida. It follows, as a natural prognostic: How much more will the numerous and wild nations of the West, with the range of a Continent before them, excited by their brethren who have been banished from their homes and the graves of their fathers in the east, and goaded on by a deep sense of injury, be able to conspire and maintain an interminable warfare on the frontiers—a warfare that will check and throw back the tide of Western emigration for ages, perhaps for ever?

The most important political consequences of this forcible ejection of the Indians from their native fields to the West, which begin already to appear, were never foreseen. It was never dreamed, that these tribes could maintain successful war with the whites, till the late experiment in Florida. Whereas it

seems now to be well-nigh conceded—certainly it is extensively believed—that even the Florida Indians cannot be subdued by force of arms. General Jessup, in charge of this business, has made a formal report to the War Department to the effect, that the scheme of subduing them is impracticable; inasmuch as they have physical advantages, against which the power of man cannot contend. Yet the districts of their resort are very limited, flanked on the north by the regions of civilization, and on all other sides walled by the sea; and their numbers are contemptible.

The Indian's natural home is the deep wilderness, where physical obstacles interpose insurmountable barriers to the progress of troops of civilized nations; and whence he can with impunity leap on his foe, and leap back again. The Western tribes, advised and sustained by their half-civilized brethren from the East, will soon learn, that they have nothing to do, but to retreat before the best-disciplined and best-provided troops which the United States can send against them; and *that Nature will do the rest*. The banished Indians have received sufficient provocations for the culture of an everlasting enmity, and nothing is more natural to be expected. Besides, they carry with them no small share of the arts and learning of civilization. Their long vicinage to the whites has given them many hints, that may easily be appropriated to their own advantage. They may not only conspire with the wilder nations of the West against the American Union, but they may tempt the negro

of the South to join in the project of revenge for common injuries. The moral effect, growing out of the treatment which both these parties have experienced in and from the United States, bid fair to mount into moral causes of a most productive character and terrible aspect. Moral causes ~~make~~ men and nations, when nothing else will; and all the physical advantages, which those interminable wilds offer to such a conspiracy, are so much in addition, and so much more important. It is impossible for the troops of a civilized nation to traverse those regions in pursuit of a foe, that can always hover in their van, on their flanks, and on their rear, without the danger of being caught. As Nature destroyed the French army in Russia, so will it fight for the Western Indians against the Americans, and that for ever, if the Indians so decree. That vast world, thus fortified, is now the natural domain of the Indian and African united. The latter will struggle in vain for his rights in the American Union. He has no alternative, but to conspire with the Indian to assert them. It is perfectly in the power of these two races, or for the Indians alone, if they have spirit and energy sufficient, to drive every American from the West of the Mississippi to the East of it, as the Americans have driven the Indians to the West. It is not the power of their embodied hosts, but the dread of the tomahawk and scalping-knife, that will not only check, but roll back the tide of American emigration, if the Indians should adopt and sustain that policy, which

may naturally be expected. Unless the Government of the United States should be able to protect a two thousand miles frontier—which is impossible for the reasons already stated, in case of a perpetual war with the Indians—nothing can save the most remote log cabins of the Americans from the rapacities of savage vengeance; and one after another, they would be desolated and deserted, till not unlikely the natural boundary of the great Mississippi should divide these natural and implacable enemies. Civilized man cannot live in dread of such a foe as the American Indian; he cannot sleep; he cannot bear the exposure of his wife and children to such sudden and fearful atrocities. If he cannot subdue the foe, he has no alternative, but to retreat before him, till he can find safety and exemption from fear.

One thing is clear, that the American Aborigines are well instructed, and deeply impressed with their final doom, while they remain in the power of the white man: they know that they must be extinguished. It is moreover likely, that they will discover that the empire of the West is now in their power. Already, every post from that quarter announces the incipient stages of a wide-spread Indian conspiracy. With such impulses for self-preservation as they must naturally feel, and with such arts of civilization as they can now call to their aid, they are able, at least, to strike terror on the American frontier for a time not to be reckoned, if not to establish and maintain a confederacy as formidable and as destructive, as did

the Goth and Vandal barbarians of Northern Europe on the South.

In consideration of all these causes, operating so powerfully on the nature of man, it is not unlikely that the American Government, by this violent and unjust ejectment of the Indians, has decreed and fixed the Western limit of its empire, for an indefinite period, if not for ever, far on this side of the Rocky Mountains.

Another prominent feature of Jackson's Administration was, his bold attempt to make his Government and its army of depending officers a *unit*, by excluding from the lists of his appointments, and from the range of Government patronage, all who would not swear devotion to the party, and to the principles of the Administration. It is true, indeed, that these matters in America had long been tending that way ; that it is natural for a Government to favour its own party in the distribution of its patronage ; that, to a certain extent, it is quite indispensable that it should be able to repose political faith in its members and servants ; and that complaints for undue partialities of this kind had been made against previous administrations of both parties. But the practice was never quite agreeable to American feeling, or consistent with American principles ; and previous administrations had taken great pains to escape this charge. Never before, in America, did the head of Government dare to avow it as a principle of his administration, and boldly attempt to carry it out.

It turned up a new feature in American political history, and the effect of it has been to create a most unreconcilable and bitter hatred between the parties, and to make office-holders tyrannical and despotic towards political opponents, as if they were natural-born enemies. It now seems to be recognised, as a settled principle, that the only title to the honours and emoluments of office, is a confession on the political creed of the party in power. And, to the mortification and chagrin of native-born Americans, recently naturalised foreigners have realised a most disproportionate share of public favours of this kind, and in no place so much as under the shades of the Capitol at Washington, and in and about the departments of State. The whole system of American State patronage seems to have got into a train of violation of American principles,—of partiality to party and to foreigners,—an insult to American feeling, and tending to exasperate party animosity. All this is the more unpleasant, as it is known, that foreigners hold in their hands the casting vote of the nation.

It is remarkable, that President Jackson contributed not a little towards raising himself to power, by declaiming on the importance of retrenchment in the expenses of the Government, and against the abuse of executive patronage. And yet these expenses, called in England the Civil List, increased rapidly from the moment he was installed in the Chair of State, till before he retired they had nearly,

or quite doubled; and they are still increasing under his successor, who was raised to power by his influence. In Jackson's inaugural speech, of March 4, 1829, is the following passage:—

“The recent demonstration of public sentiment inscribes on the list of executive duties, in characters too legible to be overlooked, the task of reform, which will require particularly the *correction of those abuses that have brought the patronage of the Federal Government into conflict with the freedom of elections.*”

And yet no other administration—the present one excepted—was ever so active and efficient, through all its dependencies, in those matters which would render it liable to this specific charge. Quite likely, it may have been so against the will of the Chief, as his popularity was sufficient to sustain him independent of such aid.

The following are extracts from the Report of a Committee of the Senate of the United States, on Executive patronage, made in 1826, of which M. Van Buren, now President of the Republic, was a member:—

“With the Blue Book, they will discover enough to show, that the predictions of those not blind to the defects of the Constitution are already realised; that the power and influence of Federal patronage, contrary to the argument of ‘The Federalist,’ is an overmatch for the power and influence of State patronage (the patronage of the States respectively);

that its workings will contaminate the purity of all elections, and enable the Federal Government eventually to govern throughout the States, as effectually as if they were so many provinces of one vast empire.

“ The whole of the great power will centre in the President. The king of England is the fountain of honour. The President of the United States is the source of patronage. He presides over the entire system of federal appointments, jobs, and contracts. He has power over the support of the individuals who administer the system. He makes and unmakes them ; he chooses from the circle of his friends and supporters, and may dismiss them ; and, upon all the principles of human action, will dismiss them, as often as they disappoint his expectations. His spirit will animate their actions in all the elections to State and Federal offices.

“ We must, then, look forward to the time when the public revenue will be doubled ; when the civil and military officers of the Federal Government will be quadrupled ; when its influence over individuals will be multiplied to an indefinite extent ; when the nomination of the President can carry any man through the Senate, and his recommendation can carry any measure through both Houses of Congress ; when the principle of public action will be *open* and *avowed*. The President wants my vote, and I want his patronage—I will vote as he wishes, and he will give me the office I wish for. What

will this be but the government of *one* man? And what is the government of one man but a *monarchy*? Names are nothing; the nature of a thing is in its substance, and the name soon accommodates itself to the substance. The first Roman Emperor was styled the Emperor of the Republic; and the last French Emperor took the same title."

And this is a true picture, a veritable history of the Jackson dynasty, continued under Mr. Van Buren, who, as is understood, stands pledged to "follow in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor."

JUNIUS says, "Our climate is severely altered; and, without dwelling on the depravity of modern times, I think no reasonable man will expect, that as human nature is constituted, the enormous influence of the Executive should cease to prevail over the virtue of individuals. The mischief lies too deep to be cured by any remedy less than some great convulsion, which may either carry back the Constitution to its original principles, or utterly destroy it."

GIBBON also hath it thus: "In whatever state an individual unites in his person the execution of the laws, the command of the army, *and the management of the revenue*, that state may be termed a *monarchy*. The name assumed by the superior thus invested, is of little consequence to the public; nor will it avail, whether this *aggregated* trust is devolved on a Dictator, a Triumvir, or a King."

On the whole, it may be remarked, that the former honest pride of the Americans, in *being* Americans, eschewing disdainfully the exclusive partisan character, seems to have become extinct. Exclusive devotion to party is recognised, not only as suitable, but necessary. It is no longer brought in charge as a misdemeanor, that a President of the United States employs his patronage to confirm his power, and secure its perpetuity; for that is taken for granted as a fact. Office-holders are known to be more actively engaged in these duties, than in the discharge of their appropriate functions; and a want of facility in this particular would be a sufficient reason for being cashiered. "The President wants my vote, and I want his patronage," is the ruling maxim in this new era of American political history. The organization of the party *in* power has all the advantage over the party *out* of power, which a well-disciplined army has under a general and full complement of officers, all in commission and under pay, over an opposing army, without a general, without officers, without discipline, and without pay. The chances of patriotism, in such a state of things, are as nothing; but they are all on the side of devotion to the dominant party. "I have heard of patriotism in the United States," says M. de Tocqueville, "and it is a virtue that may be *found* among the *people*; but *never* among the leaders of the people." In this, there is at least *some* truth in these times.

It has transpired in the progress of the Jackson

dynasty, that the chief of American democracy may trample on the Constitution, and do serious injury to the State, with impunity. We have already alluded to an instance in the violation of Indian treaties, and in setting aside the solemn decision of the National Judiciary, which declared the binding force of those treaties.

The Charter of the first Bank of the United States, on account of popular prejudices raised against it, was permitted to expire by its own limitation in 1811. But the experience of a brief period was enough to demand another, to answer the purposes of the public, and the necessities of the Government. Accordingly, a new one was chartered in 1816, with double the amount of capital, under a satisfactory supervision of Congress, on condition of its being an agent of the Government, as the convenience of the Treasury Department might require, and as Congress might authorise from time to time. The public currency, which had been entirely deranged in the interval between the expiration of the Charter of the Old Bank and the incorporation of the New, was instantly restored to a condition and basis which satisfied the public, and answered the convenience of the Government.

But notwithstanding the great public benefits which continued to be felt during the term of its operation, and notwithstanding that a bill had passed both Houses of Congress for rechartering the institution, the President, having found some personal

occasion to quarrel with it, put his veto on the bill. And what is extraordinary, he involved the province of the legislative department of Government, to which alone is entrusted the care of the public funds by the Constitution, removed them from the bank where they were deposited by order of Congress, and took them into his own keeping.

We suppose, that no principle is more decidedly fixed in Constitutional States, than that the Executive shall not have the keeping and disposal of the public funds ; and we are quite sure, that nothing could have been more repugnant to American feeling, or to American principles, independent of this case. And yet a President of the United States marched straight over the Constitution, and over the heads of the Legislature, co-ordinate in its authority, to the assumption of this power. Gibbon says, in the passage above quoted, "In whatever State an individual unites in his person the execution of the laws, the command of the army, *and the management of the revenue*, that State may be termed *a monarchy*." Such is the present actual condition of the United States. The powers thus assumed by President Jackson, have passed into the hands of his successor, and are used by him. This is now the established Government of the Republic—established without law, and in violation of the Constitution. It has been proposed to Congress to sanction it, by the passage of the Sub-Treasury Bill ; but it was refused. And yet it continues.

In a time of profound peace—a little Indian war excepted—when the nation was in a career of unparalleled prosperity ; when the public Treasury was overflowing, and the Government embarrassed to find ways and means to dispose of its surplus revenue ; when labour commanded the highest price, and no one wanted employment ; when internal improvements on the grandest scale were advancing with unheard-of rapidity ; when agriculture, manufactures, and commerce yielded their greatest profit, and all branches of business flourished ; when all the great staples of the country found a ready market ; when the wilderness of the boundless West was peopling, and towns and cities rising, as if by enchantment ; when credit was unshaken, and afforded all needful facilities to trade ; and when the currency of the nation was established on a sound and healthy basis, by the salutary operation of a National Bank ;—at such a moment, by the overthrow of this great regulator of the currency—in connexion with another despotic measure of the President, which drew the specie of the country from its accustomed places of deposit to remote regions where it was not wanted, putting it all under control of the Government—credit was suddenly and universally destroyed ; business of all kinds, except that of lawyers, was brought to a dead stand ; labour went begging for bread, and starved for want of it ; a great portion of the community were reduced to a state of bankruptcy, and all to non-payment ; the banks stopped, and many,

where the President had deposited the public funds, failed ; and the Government itself was compelled to issue Treasury notes to meet its current expenses !!!

Millions of the public money have already been lost by this revolution in the fiscal transactions of the nation, in the breaking down of local banks used for depositing those funds which had been unconstitutionally wrested from the custody of the legislative branch of the Government, and by the enormous defalcations of individuals intrusted with public monies ; and millions more are still in jeopardy of the same fate. Whereas, not a penny was ever lost by the Bank of the United States, and all the business transactions required by the Government of that institution were done without premium. On the 17th of January, 1838, the United States Treasurer reported to Congress *sixty-three* defalcators (individuals), in all to the amount of 1,020,587 dollars, without touching the vast amounts lost in the local banks,—a mere beginning of the end.

Besides all this :—In such an unauthorised, unconstitutional, and loose state of things, millions of the public money may be appropriated to electioneering and party purposes, and to buy up friends of the administration, without being open to proof, or liable to account. It is a simple matter of fact, that all the public funds lost in this way, have actually gone to buy up friends to the Government, whether the defalcations were matters of understanding between the powers at Washington and these parties, or not.

The money is gone, and is going; and it goes to friends. So much is true, whatever else is false. And what has already been used up in this way, according to official report, is sufficient to buy the votes of a large fraction of the population of the United States,—that is to say, sufficient to produce an influence adequate to secure them.

The Jackson dynasty presents an extraordinary spectacle in American history—that of a man who, having become the idol of a democratic republic, in a military career, was suddenly raised to the Chief Magistracy of the nation, and able to maintain an unabated popularity, while he set aside the decisions of the Supreme Judiciary, trampled the Constitution under his feet, rode over the heads of both Houses of Congress, usurped supreme and uncontrolled authority, took charge of the public funds, and completely blighted the greatest prosperity of a great nation! His military spirit seems to have been the presiding genius of his Administration, and was turned to practical account in training and disciplining the party that raised him to power, so that they continue to bear the impress of his hand, and obey his will as faithfully since he retired, as before. The Republic, under his regimen, has received a new character, and is no longer the same thing. His Government, and the state of things which he set up, makes an era in the history of the country.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CANADA REBELLION.

THE CANADIAN INSURRECTION is a topic of deep and painful interest, as well in the United States, as in Great Britain. Doubtless the diplomatic organs of the British Government in their correspondence with the same functionaries of the United States, are well advised of the temper of the American Government and people, as a body, in regard to this distressing affair. Lord Durham, moreover, enjoyed abundant opportunities, while in Canada, of feeling the American public pulse in relation to this movement, in conversation, with many respectable, and some distinguished, individuals from the States. And we should be much disappointed, if it should transpire, that he has not carried home with him a satisfactory impression of the general public sentiment in the United States on this subject. He must have seen, as we think, that so far from there being a sympathy in the States for the Canadian revolt—with the exception of a few deluded and infatuated men near the Canadian lines, and others of no standing or cha-

racter in the country, who had nothing at stake in public disturbances—there is, on the contrary, a fixed and determined public sentiment in the United States, that the amicable relations between Great Britain and this country shall not be put in jeopardy by this ill-advised, rash, and insurrectionary movement. The people of the United States have never seen any reasons why the people of Canada should be dissatisfied with this Government; much less why they have a right to ask sympathy and aid in a rebellion. On the contrary, the citizens of the American Union have a general knowledge of the facts, that the peculiar privileges awarded by the British Government to its Canadian subjects, their many exemptions from public burdens necessarily sustained by their neighbours in the States, and the encouragements given to enterprise, have placed those parts of British jurisdiction on high and enviable ground. So far as we have been able to observe, in a course of years, and in circumstances affording good opportunities of knowing the public mind, we believe we speak truth in saying, that the people of the United States would not have been surprised, if the British Government had *offered* independence to the Canadas, to be rid of the burden of sustaining and governing them; and that they *are* greatly surprised that any of the people of Canada should be so unwise, as to think, much more to make the attempt, of acquiring independence by force of arms.

Besides, that the people of the United States can see no good reason, why the people of Canada should desire a change of government—and it is abundantly manifest, in the results of the recent disturbances, that the Canadians do not desire it—they can see no hope of any better relations with Canada, in such an event, than those which have heretofore subsisted. Of course, in case of Canadian independence—which, indeed, is far removed from any probability, unless the British Government choose to abandon them, which national reputation now forbids—they would very likely set up for an independent republic, as it is not probable, that either the Canadians, or the people of the United States, would desire a Union. It is obvious, therefore, from all the probabilities arising out of the supposition, that no more quiet, or more comfortable international relations could be formed, than those which have heretofore existed, while the Canadas have been under British jurisdiction. With Great Britain, the United States would have no occasion of quarrel on account of the Canadas ; but with the Canadas, as an independent State, it might not be so easy to establish and maintain amicable relations. And although the United States would have no reason of fear of a superior power in that quarter, there might, nevertheless, and probably would, arise serious and vexatious jealousies and collisions. We are quite sure that both the Government and people of the United States would deprecate most griev-

ously the change contemplated by these rash proceedings.

Doubtless, the first intelligence of the second outbreak on the Canadian frontier will have occasioned surprise in Great Britain; and not unlikely will rouse suspicion, that there is more sympathy with, and more connivance at, these transactions in the United States, than is consistent with the professions of the American Government, and with the language of the American daily press. But we feel bound to say, that it is impossible there should have been greater surprise, or more regret, in London at these events, than in New York and at Washington, and throughout the American Union. The first announcement of the intelligence by the American press, was received, not only as incredible, but as a hoax of too grave a character to be excused. It was not thought possible, that such infatuation could have been carried into such serious and tragical enactments.

A sober view of the whole affair, however, it is hoped, will enlighten the public mind, as well in Great Britain, as in America, as to the real state of the case. The Americans, generally, as we believe, are quite aware that the British Government will have some occasion to feel, that the vigilance, promptitude, and efficiency of the American Government, in maintaining its Treaty obligations of neutrality, on the Canadian frontier, have not been equal to the exigencies of the case. But the deter-

mination manifested by the American Government in 1837, to suppress these movements, so far as they had transpired on American ground, occasioned all the preparations for a renewal of the contest in 1838 to be made under cover of the greatest possible secrecy, and in those wild regions of the frontier, where such deeds could be concerted with little danger of being detected. Moreover, a man's own house is his castle, in America, as well as in England; and however a private citizen may be suspected of infidelity to the Government of his country, there is no law, either in England or the United States—except in such exigencies as may demand the martial code to supersede the civil—that can prevent a man from having arms and ammunition in his possession; and no authority that can question him as to the use he purposes to make of them. Nothing but the overt act of violating law is cognizable by the public authorities; and the concerters of mischief generally take care to understand what the law is.

Enough has already transpired to show, that the few American citizens, near the line of the Canadian frontier, who had been so foolish in the first outbreak of the Canadian insurrection of 1837, as to manifest some sympathy for the self-styled Canadian patriots, have long since been silenced by the rebukes of the American Government, and of public opinion so promptly and decidedly manifested throughout the Union, and have shrunk away in

shame and deep mortification. The exiled malcontents have indeed succeeded, in the course of a year, in deluding and clandestinely mustering a band of foreign outlaws and refugees, picked up at New York and elsewhere, who pretended to have held military commissions in European service, and some of whom, perhaps, had been as much honoured ; and in hope of some distinction, and more of plunder, they have been tempted, by false representations of the state of Canada, and of the readiness of the people, as a body, to rise in rebellion, to engage in a most inglorious, and to them fatal, expedition. The confessions and statements of Charles Hindenlang, prisoner, as published in the Montreal Herald, which, doubtless, will have been copied in the London papers, and which seem to develop more of an innocent delusion than ought to be credited to such adventurers, are probably a fair display of the deceptions that have been practised on these unfortunate men.

But what is most regretted and lamented by the citizens and Government of the United States, is the fact, that these leaders and agents of sedition and treason, succeeded in seducing, by the same practices, into this ignoble and disastrous enterprise, some of the citizens of the United States, who will have no sympathy for their fate by their former fellow-citizens, except as their wives and families, their parents and neighbours, may be excused for their tears and lamentations over such a delusion and such

an end. It is believed, that neither the Government nor people, of the United States, will remonstrate against any treatment or disposal, which the British authorities shall see fit to decree against the prisoners, who may have been American citizens, but who, in the results of this criminal project, have fallen into the hands of justice. If we may judge of the feeling of the American people by the language of the press, they seem quite aware, that the future peace of the Canadas, and the quiet of the frontier, require some strong measures and signal examples of justice in the action of the British authorities, to put an end to such tragical disturbances, originated and sustained by so small a band of malcontents, and of unprincipled and desperate adventurers. The British public may be assured, that there is no sympathy for, and no countenance of, these guilty proceedings—none, that is worthy of respect—either in the Government or the people of the United States. The movement, as is well known, originated in Canada, and has unfortunately had an influence over some innocent and deluded American citizens—innocent before they were seduced, but so far as they have participated in the tragedy, guilty and exposed to the claims of public justice.

There are many apologies for the strong language of the Canadian press, and for its severe animadversions on the Americans, in regard to this insurrection. They have been the sufferers ; and they received their first impressions, which have never been

altered, from the foolish and unauthorised freaks of some of the borderers, at the beginning of the troubles in 1837. They have never looked at the general state of American feeling ; or if they have seen it, they have felt too much wounded to give credit for it. From Maine to Georgia, and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, the American press has been uniform, decided, and strong in its reprobation of these transactions ; and as loud in its censure of the few deluded Americans that have manifested a sympathy for the revolt, as the Canadian press itself. We have, indeed, heard of a paper here and there, that has spoken, in unbecoming terms, of the late affairs of Canada ; but we have never *seen* such a paper ; and yet we have been in the habit of visiting the best furnished news-rooms of the United States. But they have only been alluded to by other papers, for the purpose of decided and severe censure. It is no more surprising, in the world of American newspapers, that an editor without principle should commit a fault of this kind, than that some American citizens should be foolish, and ignorant, and weak enough, to be seduced into such a moonstruck project, as the invasion of Canada. But the general voice of the American press is decisive on this point. It never has wavered from the beginning ; its tone has waxed louder and stronger to the present hour ; and it never was so strong as on this 31st day of November, 1838, the date of this statement. We appeal to the files of American

newspapers in London, at Liverpool, and in other cities of the British empire. It would be a pity, therefore, that the Canadian press should be taken in evidence against such a fact, to excite the minds of the British public.

So deluded have those poor creatures, called "Canadian patriots" been, and so much more deluded the dupes they have made of some misguided Americans, and of roving, homeless, and destitute Europeans—deluded as to the real state of the Canadas, and as to the forces that have been promised to join them—we dare to say, that if every man enlisted and accoutred in their behalf, from Lake Superior to the mouth of the St. Lawrence, should be mustered on the field of battle, in their best condition, and led on by their stoutest hearts, they could not all together stand the first charge of a single British regiment. We mean not by this to give advice to the British government, as to the force they may think advisable to throw into the Canadas to defend them, to keep the peace, and maintain the Government; but we simply express a sober judgment in view of all the facts that have yet transpired. Doubtless, in such times of discontent and turbulence, it was a matter of prudence to make some formidable demonstrations; and had Lord Durham been permitted to carry out his plans, there is no probability, that the peace of Canada would again have been disturbed. The powerless

predicament of his Lordship, and the exigency which demanded his resignation, occasioned by the disapprobation and rebukes arrayed against his course of procedure, most unfortunately operated to paralyse the Canadian authorities, to dishearten the loyalists, and to erect a signal for a new invasion. These concerters of treason, and lurkers-in-the-dark, who had seen all hope depart in the conciliatory, beneficent, sun-lit policy and measures of Lord Durham, combining efficiency with mildness of administration, imagined that they saw in his sudden defeat, and in the consequent discontent of the Provinces, the star of their own victory beckoning them to the field, and that they had only to enter the Canadas to be triumphant. The folly of this conclusion, and the infatuation of their counsels, were proved the moment their invading flag was unfurled; and the prisons of Canada are now insufficient to contain the victims of this madness that have escaped justice in the battle-field. And the President of the United States has announced by public proclamation, that any American citizens, "who have engaged in these criminal enterprises, whatever may be the condition to which they may be reduced, must not expect the interference of the Government in any form on their behalf; but that they will be left, reproached by every virtuous fellow-citizen, to be dealt with according to the policy and justice of that Government, whose dominions they have, in defiance of

the known wishes and efforts of their own Government, and without the shadow of justification or excuse, nefariously invaded."

Besides this proclamation, dated at the seat of Government the 21st of November, 1838, it should be recollected, that the Governors of the respective States bordering on the Canadas, and the President of the United States, issued their proclamations at the opening of the first insurrection forbidding all violations of neutrality on American ground, under penalties of law provided for such cases; and that active measures were instituted by the American Government to carry these measures into effect. Some of the most efficient generals and officers of the American army were detached from their respective commands, and posted on the Canadian frontier, with authority to call to their aid all the military that might be required to keep the peace; detachments of the army have also been ordered to that frontier for the same purpose; the vigilance of the American Government has never been withdrawn from that quarter since the peace was first broken; and the President of the United States and other American authorities have kept the British authorities in Canada advised, from time to time, of all the dangers to which the latter were exposed, so far as any symptoms were disclosed to the observation of the American functionaries commissioned for these purposes and charged with this business. And we have every reason to suppose that these duties have

been conscientiously discharged. The American officers entrusted with these powers, and on whom have devolved these responsibilities, have had every motive to animate their zeal and fidelity, which could arise from a contempt of these pirates and incendiaries, from indignation at their murderous designs, from the known approbation and wishes of the American people, and from the injunctions of American authorities. There were certain limits, beyond which their powers could not be extended: the line of frontier, required to be watched, is scarcely less than a thousand miles; the wilds, bordering on this frontier, and affording hiding-places for the concerters and abettors of these mischiefs, are numerous and vast; their chosen places of rendezvous were of course in their own counsels; their modes of enlisting men and collecting stores and ammunition, secret and unobserved; and even in many cases when suspected, the laws were inadequate to arrest them. It was only in the act of violating neutrality, that they could be apprehended.

M^r Kenzie could set up his paper in the city of New York, and preach treason to Canadians, with as much impunity as Daniel O'Connell could lecture on radicalism at the Crown and Anchor, or at Exeter Hall, Strand; or at the Town Hall of Birmingham. Fanny Wright Daresmouth, with her train of low-lived levellers, can do the same thing. The convicts, whom Lord Durham sent to Bermuda, as is alleged without the forms of law, being let loose and set at

large by British generosity, can also, in a clandestine way, beat up recruits in the United States for an invasion of Canada ; and no authority can take hold of them, until they are seen—and they will take good care not to be seen—crossing the lines with arms in their hands ; for they will do it under cover of night, as recently at Prescott and in Lower Canada.

These “Canadian patriots”—better “incendiar-ies”—may hold their public meetings in any of our cities, and call on the “sympathisers” to aid them ; and peradventure, the British subject will be told that they are “respectably attended.” Would that the British public could once have a peep at such respectability, and they would little desire the smell of its garments. M’Kenzie and Theller—Dr. Theller who escaped from the citadel at Quebec—had the impudence the other day, to present themselves at the city of Washington, and to offer their advertisement, for a meeting of “sympathisers,” to “the Globe,” the organ of the American Government, and to the “National Intelligencer ;” both of which, of course, felt themselves insulted, and indignantly refused. The meeting, we are told, was a slender compliment to their “patriotism,” both as to numbers and quality. The “loafers” of the streets went in to see “the lions.”

No appeals of the “Canadian patriots” can move the American public. There is, there can be, no sympathy for them, to any wide extent, for the

reason, that the American people can see no demand for it. The despotism of the British Government over the Canadas, as complained of, cannot be seen, or appreciated. There is nothing of the kind that is palpable to public observation, or that can be made so; and the "patriots," one and all, are generally regarded in the United States, as movers of sedition, as insurrectionists and incendiaries, without just provocation, and as engaged in a perfectly hopeless enterprise. All American citizens, who favour or abet their schemes, are stamped by the action of the American authorities, and by public opinion, as the enemies of their own country, and stand charged with the crime of jeopardising the amicable relations subsisting between Great Britain and the United States.

We shall conclude these remarks with the recent proclamation of the President of the United States, premising, that it may be taken as a fair exponent of the feeling of the American people, and that it is being received with universal acclaim throughout the land:—

"By the President of the United States of America. A Proclamation.

"Whereas, there is too much reason to believe, that citizens of the United States, in disregard of the solemn warning heretofore given to them by the proclamation issued by the Executive of the general Government, and by some of the Governors of the States, have combined to disturb the peace of the

dominions of a neighbouring and friendly nation : And whereas information has been given to me, derived from official and other sources, that many citizens in different parts of the United States are associated, or associating, for the same purpose : And whereas disturbances have actually broken out anew in different parts of the two Canadas : And whereas a hostile invasion has been made by citizens of the United States, in conjunction with Canadians and others, who, after forcibly seizing upon the property of their peaceful neighbours for the purpose of effecting their unlawful designs, are now in arms against the authorities of Canada, in perfect disregard of their own obligations as American citizens, and of the obligations of the Government of their country to foreign nations :—

“ Now, therefore, I have thought it necessary and proper to issue this proclamation, calling upon every citizen of the United States, neither to give countenance nor encouragement of any kind to those who have thus forfeited their claim to the protection of their country ; upon those misguided or deluded persons who are engaged in them, to abandon projects dangerous to their own country, fatal to those whom they profess to desire to relieve, impracticable of execution without foreign aid, which they cannot rationally expect to obtain, and giving rise to imputations, however unfounded, upon the honour and good faith of their own Government ; upon every officer, civil and military, and upon every citizen—

by the veneration due by all freemen to the laws which they have assisted to enact for their own government—by his regard for the honour and reputation of his country—by his love of order and respect for that sacred code of laws by which national intercourse is regulated—to use every effort in his power to arrest for trial and punishment every offender against the laws providing for the performance of our obligations to the other powers of the world.

“ And I hereby warn all those who have engaged in these criminal enterprises, if persisted in, that, whatever may be the condition to which they may be reduced, they must not expect the interference of this Government, in any form, on their behalf; but will be left, reproached by every virtuous fellow-citizen, to be dealt with according to the policy and justice of that Government whose dominions they have, in defiance of the known wishes and efforts of their own Government, and without the shadow of justification or excuse, nefariously invaded.

“ Given under my hand, at the city of Washington, the 21st day of November, in the year of our Lord 1838, and the sixty-third of the Independence of the United States.

“ M. VAN BUREN.”

“ By the *President*.

John Forsyth, Secretary of State.”

The following notices, which we copy from the public journals, may, in our sober judgment, be

regarded as the winding-up of the invasion of Canada :—

“ On the morning of the 15th (of November), the British Consul, in New York, received the following despatch from the military secretary of Sir John Colborne :—

“ L'Acadie, Nov. 12, 1838.

“ SIR,—I am directed by His Excellency, Sir John Colborne, to acquaint you, that the rebels, who had assembled in arms in the district of Montreal, have been entirely dispersed by Her Majesty's troops and the volunteers.”

The following notice is dated at Sackett's Harbour, November 18th :—

“ On Friday the 16th, the invaders at Wind Mill Point (near Prescott) were attacked by the British troops, and four armed steam-boats. The British planted a heavy battery before the Mill (in which the invaders were entrenched), and fired with such effect, that their shot passed entirely through the stone buildings. The fight lasted more than an hour, when the invaders surrendered, to the number of about 90, the rest having been killed, or previously taken prisoners.

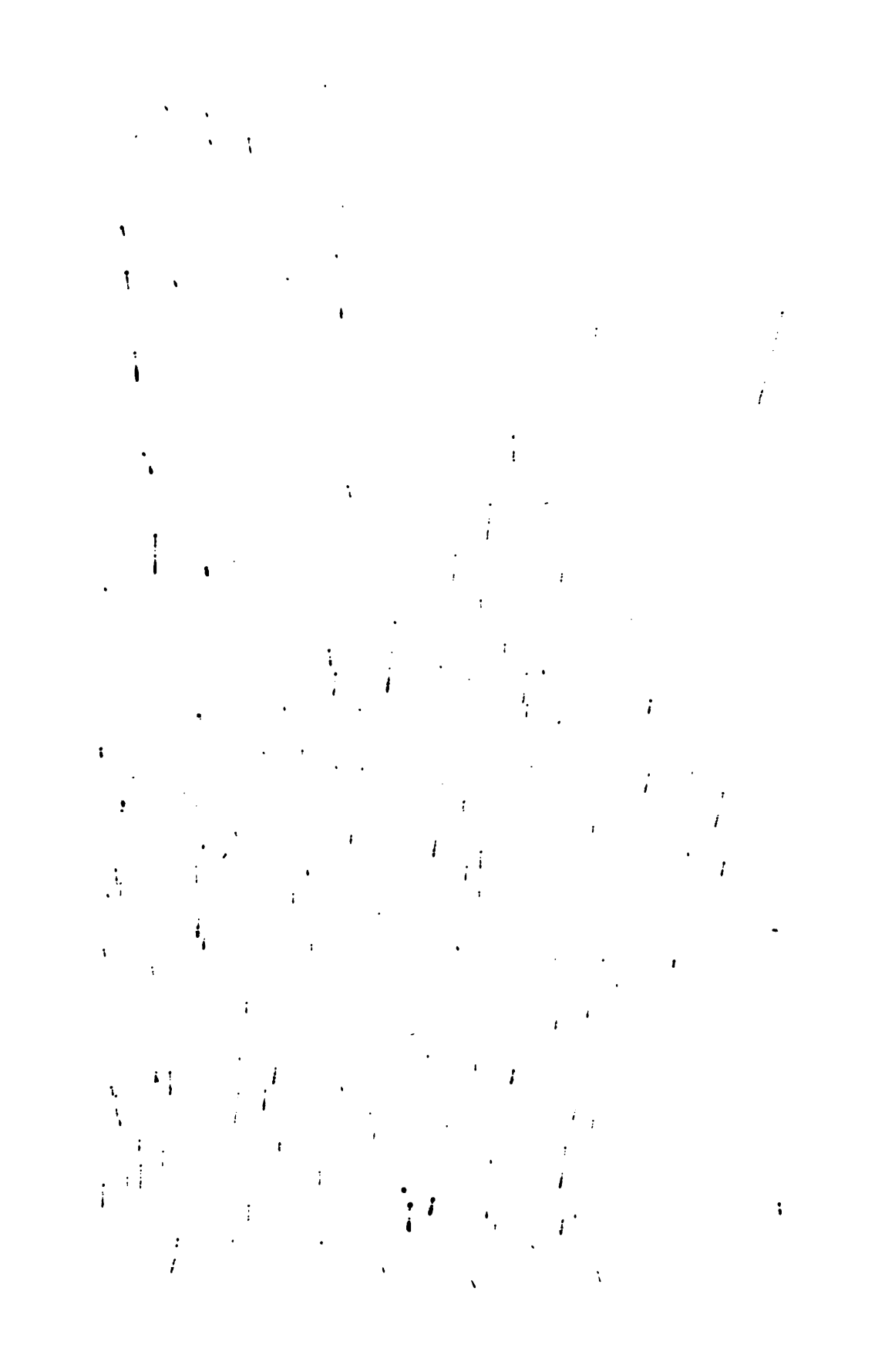
“ William Johnson was taken yesterday, and is now in custody of the United States Marshal, Mr. Garrow. Mr. Birge, a ‘ Patriot’ General, is also in custody of the Marshal. The steam-boat, Paul Pry, and all the vessels that have been employed in the invasion, have been seized by the United States

Government, for the violation of neutrality. Col. Worth, Mr. Garrow, the Marshal, and other officers of the United States, appear to have done their duty with activity, energy, and effect."

The following is an extract from the *New York Gazette*, of November 26th, in reference to a petition said to have been got up at Ogdensburg, by certain "sympathisers," to the Canadian authorities, in behalf of some American citizens, taken prisoners in the affair of Prescott; and we think it may be accepted as a fair expression of American feeling:—

"Here are a body of brigands, who go deliberately into a peaceful territory, burn the houses of quiet and inoffensive citizens over their heads, and murder some forty or fifty of them at their own firesides We have no particular desire to see them shot or hanged—though no man who wishes well to his race can have any reasonable objection to either—but we most sincerely and heartily hope, that no soul of them will ever be permitted again to pollute his native soil. Let them be sent to the very centre of New Holland."

NOTES.



NOTES.

NOTE A. Page 3.

Nomenclature of American Political Parties.

Whigs is the more common name now assumed and applied to the great conservative party in America, a misnomer to an English ear. All such names, as is known, are the results of accident. President Jackson's bold and high-handed administration obtained for him among his opponents, and for popular effect, the royal appellation of King Andrew I. Of course his supporters were Tories, and the opposite party Whigs. Tory, however, is little current, while Whig generally obtains.

The most common name now applied to the radicals is Loco-Focos. Origin thus: The Democratic party of the city of New York got into a squabble, and had some fierce contention. On the occasion of a public meeting, it was whispered, that the minority had conspired to blow out the lights, and thus to break up the assembly. Whereupon, the other party came with their pockets furnished with Loco-Foco matches, and triumphed, in a riotous sort of way, to be sure. Hence the Loco-Focos. The secession called themselves Conservatives, and they still make a small party of schismatics from the Democratic ranks, though that is not the sense in which we use the term.

Under the Jeffersonian dynasty, the two great parties in the nation were designated Federalists and Democrats. But

Federalist has long since become obsolete. A Jacksonian was of course synonymous with Democrat. Numerous have been the party names, that have prevailed transiently. What will come next we know not, unless, in the whirlpool of change, all parties should be confounded, and puzzled in making out their own muster-rolls.

NOTE B. Page 7.

M. de Tocqueville's Democracy of America.

It is due to M. de Tocqueville to say, that his work is a book of Commentaries properly, and all the more valuable and creditable on that account. He had time for observation, spared no research, travelled thoroughly, enjoyed every facility, social and literary; was himself an accomplished jurist—as would appear—qualified for useful comparisons, fitted in temper for the task he undertook, and has astonished the Americans themselves, for the accuracy, depth, and philosophical character of his remarks. He began at the beginning, dove to the bottom, and pervaded all the known and unknown regions of American society; drew out from its profundities a vast amount of its hidden secrets, and fished up pearls and treasures of inestimable value. He analysed American society, and disclosed its elements; showed wherein it is weak, and wherein it is strong, how one attribute affects another, and how apparent discrepancies in the parts constitute the harmony of the whole, so far as harmony could be found. Nevertheless, he was more excellent at analysis; he could show the parts better than the body. He has left the field an unformed creation—a chaos of original, mighty, and conflicting elements, dubious what result they may yet work out under the face of heaven—a picture contingently true and contingently false.

At least, M. de Tocqueville has executed such a task on America, as was never before done by a foreigner, for its fidelity, ability, and correctness. Yet, there are things of great importance, and combinations of potent agencies, in American society, which De Tocqueville could never understand or appreciate, and which never came under his observation. There are institutions in America of great power and consequence, which, if he ever saw, he has left unnoticed—institutions indigenous to the soil, novelties in the world as to their form, scope, and tendencies, and so portentous, that American society can never be understood, while they are out of view. M. de Tocqueville has, indeed, done enough to show, that America is a *New World*; that man there is enacting an eventful drama, the developments of which are likely to arrest the attention of mankind no less than did the discovery of the Continent; and that it will be scarcely less prolific in its consequences, good or bad, than the last-named event. Certain great principles M. de Tocqueville discovered, and brought them forth to the light—and there are few of great importance in actual operation, which he did not discover. But there are many peculiar forms and niceties of organisation they have assumed, which never met his eye.

NOTE C. Page 9.

The abundance of American titles of honour.

In a late Convention of Florida, appointed to form a State Convention, out of eighteen members from one county, four were generals, six colonels, three majors, one an ex-governor, one a doctor, and one an esquire, leaving only two without titles.

NOTE D. Page 28.

The American Government before the adoption of the Constitution.

The action of the United States, for somewhat more than a year after the commencement of the war of the Revolution in 1776, was not properly the action of a Government—for no government was formed—but powers of a general nature were exercised, without question or hinderance, in a time of common peril, by a Congress of Delegates from the several States. In November, 1777, a *league* was formed under the style of *Articles of Confederation*, &c., under which the war was conducted, and independence finally established by a treaty of peace. The Government of this Confederation was composed of a Committee of the States. It, however, proved a very defective and unsatisfactory one, and in 1787 the present Constitution of the United States was framed, in 1788 adopted, and in 1789 went into operation.

NOTE E. Page 28.

The British Constitution compared with the American.

“ In England the Parliament has an acknowledged right to modify the Constitution. As, therefore, the Constitution may undergo perpetual changes, it does not in reality exist. The Parliament is at once a legislative and constituent assembly Parliament, which makes the laws, also makes the Constitution England having no written Constitution, who can assert when its Constitution is changed ?”
—*M. de Tocqueville*.

“ Parliament hath sovereign and uncontrollable authority in the making, confirming, enlarging, restraining, abrogating, repealing, reviving, and expounding of laws, concerning matters of all possible denominations, ecclesiastical or temporal; civil, military, maritime, or criminal; this

being the place, where that absolute, despotic power, which must, in all governments, reside somewhere, is entrusted by the Constitution of these kingdoms. All mischiefs and grievances, operations and remedies, that transcend the ordinary course of the laws, are within the reach of this extraordinary tribunal. It can regulate and new-model the succession to the Crown, as was done in the reign of Henry VIII. and William III. It can alter the established religion of the land, as was done in a variety of instances in the reigns of Henry VIII. and his three children. It can change and create afresh even the Constitution of the kingdom, and of the Parliaments themselves, as was done in the act of Union, and the several statutes for triennial and septennial elections. It can, in short, do everything that is not naturally impossible to be done; and therefore some have not scrupled to call this power, by a figure rather too bold, the omnipotence of Parliament."—*Blackstone*.

"It is a fundamental principle with the English lawyers, that Parliament can do anything, except making a woman a man, or a man a woman."—*Delolme*.

The French Constitution is admitted to be immutable, except by a revolution and the re-organisation of the State; and therefore absolutely immutable, there being no provisions in the instrument or elsewhere, for a change. It is—"to be, or not to be."

The Constitution of the United States differs from the British Constitution, first, in that it is a code which *set up* society in that specific form; whereas the British Constitution is no other than society itself, the effect, not the cause. The former was derived from a league of pre-existing institutions; the latter is the aggregate of results, accruing, from time to time, in the accidental operation of the Government. The mode by which the former was obtained admitted of the introduction of a principle of change as an elementary

part of itself, and therefore definite and fixed ; whereas the principle of change in the latter is arbitrary, and vested in an arbitrary power. Every act of Parliamentary legislation, introducing a new principle of government, or modifying an old one, is a change in the Constitution. Parliament legislates at discretion over itself, for itself, and for the public ; whereas the legislation of the American Congress is controlled by the powers of the Constitution, and may be reviewed, confirmed, or set aside, by the national Judiciary, in the regular course of its duties.

NOTE F. Page 33.

The weakness of the American Government.

Here is an obvious weakness in the Government of the United States, and a Constitutional incapacity to do many things important to the general welfare. But no matter what unforeseen exigencies may arise, no matter what national measures or prospects may be obviously important, the delegated powers of the Constitution cannot be transcended. These limits are fortified by the muniments of opinion and interest, and by the sacredness attached to the Constitution itself. Unlike the British government, which always carries the Constitution in its will, the will of the American Government has no effect—or is not allowed to have any. The latter has only to enquire what the law is ; the former what is expedient.

Such is the rule ; but we may yet have occasion to notice, that it is not always regarded. It is a notable fact, that, while the American Constitution is silent on the subject of the acquisition of territory, the nation assented unanimously to the purchase of Louisiana and the Floridas. First, there was no interest opposed ; next, all interest concurred ; and the lawyers say, it was a power incidental to national

sovereignty. There was no prohibition in the Constitution ; the purchase was an obvious advantage ; and the public interest ruled.

Jefferson was of opinion, that there was no power in the Constitution to enter into such a negotiation. Both this and the purchase of Florida were acts of treaty, and on that ground might, perhaps, be defended. The principle is the same, for aught that can be seen, as in those exchanges of territory made in the settlement of the boundary line between the Canadas and the United States. If one acre may be transferred or acquired by treaty, so may a thousand, a million, or any amount. At any rate, the Constitution sleeps under the action of Government, when there is neither objection, nor prohibition, and sovereignty takes its course. The nation, in these instances, profited immensely, and was aggrandised materially.

Equally has it been felt, that internal improvements, in the construction of public roads, canals, &c. would be advantageous ; and these projects have been stoutly advocated under colour of implied and incidental powers, as indispensable to the Post Office Department ; as implied in the power to " regulate commerce among the several States ;" and as necessary in preparation for the exigencies of a state of war. A system of internal improvements was actually commenced by the General Government ; but it has been greatly embarrassed, and nearly defeated by, opposition, by executive vetos, &c.

Under the implied power, supposed to be vested in the Government by the Constitution, for the management of its fiscal operations, a national Bank has been twice chartered, one in 1791, and the other in 1816 ; but both charters failed to be renewed, under the pretext of being unconstitutional. Notwithstanding, the Supreme Court has solemnly decided in their favour.

The nation experienced all the advantages of such an institution during the existence of the first, from 1791 to 1811 ; but a storm of public opinion having been raised against it, not only as being unconstitutional, but for other reasons in the bosom of the democracy, the charter was left to expire with its own limitations. Five years of a depreciated, and almost bankrupt currency brought the nation to its senses, and a new bank was chartered in 1816, with a greatly increased capital. The currency was instantly regenerated, credit restored, and the public again experienced all the blessings resulting from the action of a national bank, during the term of its charter. But the absolute will of a single man, who had become the idol of the people, destroyed it by his vote, against the vote of a Congress acting with himself on other questions, but which had the good sense and firmness to oppose the authority of his name and the weight of his influence in this particular. The consequence of this despotic act was a series of the most unparalleled disasters and distress.

Thus does the American Government vacillate, and show its weakness on the most important and momentously practical subjects. A liberal and active system of internal improvements, carried on by the General Government, as all acknowledge, would contribute immeasurably to the general welfare. No nation ever had opened before it so fine a field for such enterprise. The useful and the grand might be combined on the most extensive scale, for outdoing all nations and ages.

NOTE G. Page 43.

Recklessness of the American character.

It happened in July, 1838, that two men were killed in Broadway, New York, in two successive days : one, a most

respectable citizen, run over by a man on horse-back ; the other, an English quaker, by a horse running away with a vehicle at his heels. Almost every day's paper records some accident of this kind in New York. The author of these pages, in a single ride out of the city, saw two carriages run away with, and dashed to pieces.

Every now and then is a tale of rail-road disaster in some part of the country, at inclined planes, or intersecting points, or by running off the track, making splinters of the cars and of men's bones ; and locomotives have been known to encounter, head to head, like two rams fighting. A little while previous to the writing of this line, a locomotive and tender shot down the inclined plane at Philadelphia, like a falling star. A woman, with two legs broken by this accident, was put into an omnibus, to be carried to the hospital ; but the driver, in his speculations, coolly replied to a man, who asked why he did not go on ?—that he was waiting for a full load ! The list of steam-boat disasters, in the waters of the United States, for twelve months out of the years 1837-38, by bursting of boilers, burning, wrecks, &c., besides numerous others of less consequence, comprehends the total loss of eight vessels and 1080 lives !

NOTE H. Page 50.

American Mobs and Riots.

Popular disturbances of this kind in America, are not always void of respect for existing law, as in the case of Abolition riots, in one of which, Pennsylvania Hall, at Philadelphia, was burnt to the ground, May 17th, 1838. On the contrary, the people, who looked quietly on this scene, and permitted the proceeding, regarded the erection and opening of that building, under the circumstances connected with it,

as an outrage on public feeling, and looked upon the place as a nest of sedition against the peace and integrity of the American Union. While, therefore, they appeared to be conniving at the violation of law, and were in fact doing so in regard to one of its lower departments; they were governed by a respect for the "supreme law of the land," the Constitution of the country. And had it not been, that the municipal authority of the City and County of Philadelphia were responsible for the damages, it is not unlikely, that the ringleaders of the riot would have gone unpunished; at least, that less pains would have been taken to make them an example.

So is it generally with the Lynching practices of the South, which have taken place in consequence of the Abolition excitement. It is known that opinion will sustain them: and hence these summary proceedings.

NOTE I. Page 63.

Statistics of American Religious Sects.

The following is the table of the religious denominations of the United States, from the American Almanac of 1838:—

	Congregations.	Ministers.	Communicants.	Population.
Baptists	6,319	4,239	452,000	} . 4,300,000
Freewillers	753	612	38,876	
Seventh Day	42	46	4,503	
Six Principle	16	10	2,117	
Roman Catholics . .	433	389		800,000
Christians	1,000	800	150,000	300,000
Congregationalists .	1,300	1,150	160,000	1,400,000
Dutch Reformed . .	197	192	22,215	450,000
Episcopalians . . .	850	899		600,000
Friends	500			100,000
German Reformed . .	600	180	30,000	

	Congregations.	Ministers.	Communicants.	Population.
Jews . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	15,000
Lutherans	750	267	62,266	540,000
Mennonites . . .	200 . . . .	. . . . .	30,000	
Wesleyans . . . .	. . . . .	2,764	650,103	} 3,000,000
Protestants . . .	. . . . .	400	50,000	
Moravians	24	33	5,745	12,000
Mormonites . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	12,000	12,000
New Jerusalem } Church	27	33 . . . .	. . . . .	5,000
Presbyterians . .	2,807	2,225	274,084	} 2,175,000
Cumberland . . .	500	450	50,000	
Associate	183	87	16,000	
Reformed	40	20	3,000	
Associate Reformed	214	116	12,000	
Shakers	15	45	6,000	
Tunkers	40	40	3,000	30,000
Unitarians . . .	200	174 . . . .	. . . . .	180,000
Universalists . .	653	317 . . . .	. . . . .	600,000

Remarks. The *Christ*-ians, Mennonites, and Tunkers are Baptists, as well as the first four in the table, which swells the ministers of this great denomination to 8,330; congregations 5,707; and communicants 680,486. But with most of the Baptists, any uneducated man, who *manifests* edifying gifts, is made a minister. Hence the great number. This, also, is the leading rule with the great majority of American religious sects. It prevails extensively with the Wesleyans, though they have many distinguished men among their ministers. A professional education for the pulpit is, however, becoming more the practice in America, than formerly. The column of population in this table is conjectural, though worthy of some respect. The other columns are averred to have been formed from the latest published records, under the authorities of the different sects. But there are numerous minor sects omitted here.

NOTE K. Page 108.

The Logic of Religious Belief.

In stating, that the logic of religion is that of its faith, of its convictions, we mean not to express disrespect for it. On the contrary, we have never been able to come to any other conclusion, than, that a true religious faith is a body of first principles in the modern universe, which have not been left for man to discover, but which God has brought down to him in his inspired Word. Although the external, or historical evidences of Christianity, are sufficient to confront and silence infidelity in all its forms, it is not the kind of proof on which the soul of man, as a religious being, relies. It is not that, on which Christians generally rely, for satisfaction. But it is the exact fitness and adaptation of the Christian scheme, with all its prohibitions, precepts, suggestions, encouragements, and revelations, to the spiritual wants, desires, hopes, and fears of man, as a religious being ; in a word, it is its adaptation to man, such as he is, that constitutes the prime and final argument for a true faith. In other words, that there can be no better or higher reason for Christian faith, than faith itself. We are aware, that this great fact in the religious world has been observed—for it is too obvious not to be seen—and that it has been made a weapon of infidelity, simply because Christians, in trying to be philosophers above what is required, have admitted the validity of the objection, or tried to refute it. It is enough, that the Christian literature of the age is more than a match for infidelity, and abundantly satisfactory to those who have or feel occasion to resort to it. But it would not be enough, if the great body of believers, unlearned, and unskilled in such a mode of argumentation, were not able to say, each one for himself, “I *know* my Bible to be true, because I *feel* it to be so.” This, after all, is the evidence, on which the

unlearned Christian lives, and on which he dies. Nay, the learned Christian himself, as a believer, forgets the other argument, or deserts it, and leans on this. This is the argument of his dying bed. And miserable would be this world, if the wisdom and goodness of God had not so ordained and provided.

Hence the power, passive and active, of a true Christian faith; and hence its invincibility, by being removed from the application and effect of common reasoning. It occupies the highest ground, because it is in God; it is a body of first principles, not acquired, but bestowed, which cannot be disturbed. All materials of all other logic fail to reach it, because it is made up of the deepest possible, most thorough-pervading, and most influential convictions. Terror cannot appal it. Flames may be kindled, and consume its present tenement; torture may tempt it; but its power is unsubdued—more vigorous, even, for the test. It is a conviction indelible, a life invulnerable, a first principle, and an ultimate fact. The mortality which environs, and at last gives way, and deserts it, only opens the gates of its own immortality, and gives wings and expansion to its native energies, for its native home. And shall man reason, or contend, with such a principle? It heeds not his reasoning, or his opposition, but makes its own way in spite of all, on earth for victory, or to heaven for glorification and repose.

It is to be regretted, that no adequate effort has yet been made to show, philosophically, the adaptation of Christianity to man's wants and condition—to illustrate the logic of Christian faith. Accident, in the attacks of infidelity, has called into service all the talent that was demanded, on the subject of *external* evidence; and it seems to be exhausted. But a far richer field lies open, and invites some skilful hand, to bring Christianity and

the human soul *face to face*. This is more practical, and, as may be supposed, would be more useful.

To Dr. Chalmers was assigned, in the Bridgewater Treatises, "*The adaptation of external nature to the intellectual and moral constitution of man*," a grand and most interesting theme; and for the consideration awarded—though it is difficult to estimate the value of the productions of the mind—the subject ought at least to have been *touched*. It may, indeed, be said, that some few pages have a squinting that way; but it seems to have been more convenient for the Doctor to string together the loose fragments of his old lectures, than to grasp the theme assigned him. All mankind, not counting myself, are "*external*" to me; and therefore, all I may have written on intellectual and moral philosophy, on man in the social state, on conscience, &c. &c. ought, perhaps, to afford some judicious selections, to be accepted by the public, as answering to the theme of—"the adaptation of external nature to the intellectual and moral constitution of man." How else can the production of No. I. of the Bridgewater Treatises be accounted for?

If ever a like assignment of the kindred theme of *the adaptation of Christianity to the intellectual and moral constitution of man*, should be made, it is to be hoped, that it will be put into the hands of a man, who will *face* the subject, see it, comprehend it, and show it all *as it is*: and then a task will have been performed, than which none is more demanded in Christian literature.

We are tempted here to say a word on the difference between the faith of the Christian, as a moral principle, and the faith of any other religion, as it cannot fail to occur to thinking minds, that the faith of all religionists is powerful. It is powerful in the Mohammedan,

and in pagans of every name—actively powerful and passively so. If Christians have suffered martyrdom, so have pagans—at least, they have offered themselves voluntary sacrifices to the severest penances, and sometimes to the most frightful deaths. And their faith, too, has achieved wonders in its active operations and career. It is not without reason, that the German philosophers have said, that all religions are good, but the Christian is the best; though this compliment to other religions, involving an occult implication, that Christianity is of the same genus, is infidel in its character, and ought to be rebuked. It may be true, that any religion, infusing a divine awe on the human mind, and restraint upon vice, is better than none. But still, there are so many faults in some of the religions of the pagan world, and so great, as to make them corrupting, cruel, and horrible; and as obstacles to Christianity, they are often great evils. The reason why the faith of all religions is powerful, is obvious: man is a religious being; that is, he is endowed with religious susceptibilities, and he cannot help being religious, when a faith is offered him in favourable circumstances. He is ready, or open, to entertain the best, the only true religion; but, in the absence of that, he will catch at any other. He is fond of cherishing the religious *idea*, as some have called it. Or, rather, perhaps, not being quite satisfied with the limited scope of irreligion, he seeks to gratify his ulterior aspirations in the wider range of some religious belief. Conscience, too, has much to do with it; perhaps more than anything else. Man will fall before the car of Juggernaut; or swing high in air, on hooks thrust through the muscles of his back; or make a bed of spikes; or crawl long journies on his belly; or starve himself; or give his children to Moloch—all to make atonement for his sins. Or, he will

take the sword to propagate his faith—subdue empires, and set up new ones, to gain a paradise above. All this proves, that man is a religious being, and can be powerfully acted upon by a religious faith—nothing more.

But, all other religions give place to Christianity, when they encounter : Pagans turn Christians ; but Christians rarely, if ever, turn pagans. Christianity, therefore, is more powerful. There is a something—a *that* in its faith, which is so satisfactory—satisfactory to common reason, as it is compared with others, and by a consideration of its own merits ; and satisfactory to feeling, when its faith is imbibed. It is *adapted*. In the absence of this, other religions may be embraced, may raise expectations of reward, on their own conditions, and give energy to the religious powers of man ; but Christianity takes precedence of all, to convince the speculative of its superior claims ; and erects a faith in the soul, when it takes possession of the heart, which bears, overcomes, and accomplishes what nothing else can. And the testimony of all believers is, that it is perfectly satisfactory in life and death. Its morality is so pure, that none can find fault with it ; and all the experience of society recommends it. The piety which it inculcates no less commands the respect of mankind ; for its God is a perfect Being. And this is enough. If, indeed, there be a true religion, it could not have more of argument to support it, leaving out of view historical evidence, which is also conclusive in its own domain. The claims of all other religions vanish by comparison.

NOTE L. Page 129.

American Abolitionism a Sedition.

We think it unavoidable, that the American Anti-slavery Society is destined to be tried by the Constitution of the

Republic. In what form this process will take place, whether by the action of the Government, or simply by public opinion, cannot now be foreseen. Possibly the Government may be forced to interfere, before the public mind shall be fully prepared to appreciate the case. This Society has so overstepped the Constitutional license for the regulation of popular assemblies, associations, and other modes of political action in the popular ranks, and has usurped so much of the prerogatives of Government, as necessarily to have brought itself in direct and immediate conflict, with the Government itself. The Constitution of the United States, and those of the several States, have taken care to define the modes by which the people may go into political action, as individuals, and in popular assemblies and associations, over and above the privilege of the elective franchise. The two following may be taken as specimens of the range of license allowed.

“ Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and petition the Government for a redress of grievances.” *Constitution of the United States.*

“ The citizens have a right, in a peaceable manner, to assemble for their common good, and to apply to those invested with the powers of government, for redress of grievances, or other proper purposes, by petition, address, or remonstrance. Every citizen may freely speak, write, and print, on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.” *Constitution of Pennsylvania.*

In the Bills of Rights of all the States is something tantamount to these two examples; but nothing in excess. It will be observed, that the license for popular assemblies, &c. for political action, contemplates a connexion with the Government, by petition, &c., whereas the Anti-slavery So-

ciety neither contemplates, nor makes any such application ; but acts independently. Moreover, we have reason to suppose, that these Constitutional licenses for popular action, never contemplated permanent organisation, even to act *with* the Government ; much less, *independently* ; still less, in *opposition*. It would be licensing organised faction—it might be treason. In the American Anti-slavery Society, is set up a political machinery, independent of the State and having no connexion with it, acting upon the public mind, and taking under its charge the appropriate business of the Government.

The existence and action of such institutions, is a new era in American society. They began in the religious world ; and as Abolitionism originated in religious sentiment, and is based upon it, the spectacle of influence acquired, and the success attained by associations of this class, very naturally suggested the organisation of the Abolition movement on the same model. It is quite probable, that no political designs were at first meditated. But it was impossible to proceed a step, without collision with the political fabric.

In 1838, this Society professes to have under its control 40,000, nearly one-fourth, of the votes of the State of New York ; and we may suppose, a like proportion, in the Northern and Eastern States. Here, then, is not only a considerable, but a stupendous, political organisation, independent of and hostile to the State, and which has assumed the customary forms of political action in the State, and for State purposes. The difference between the operations of this body and those intended to be licensed by the Constitutional formularies of the nation and the States, is obvious. No organisation, of a permanent character, and no action connected with the Govern-

ment, was ever contemplated. The object was simply to open a safety-valve, for an expression of the popular will to the Government, in a time of excitement, as a piece of advice, that the Government might be influenced accordingly.

But, *permanent* political organisations, having no view to address the Government in any form, and of whose existence the Government has no direct advice; acting on the wide public, for purposes of influence, independently of the Government, and in opposition to it; raising monies, employing agencies, and multiplying their resources and powers to an unlimited extent—all for political ends, and usurping the recognised province of State jurisdiction;—these, we apprehend, are as certainly prohibited by the Constitution, as that the rights specified, are granted. Otherwise the State might be undermined and overthrown in the presence of its own authorities, and by agencies under its own protection.

Already, the organisation now under consideration, has acquired to itself a large fraction of the political power of the State, and is openly driving for the ascendancy. Besides, that the peace of the Union is disturbed, and its integrity menaced, by these operations, the spectacle of the rise and progress of such a power, within the limits and on the territories of the republic, independent of the State, is a most extraordinary anomaly.

We should not be surprised, therefore, from symptoms already manifest in high quarters, and from a widely prevalent feeling, if a movement should be made against this Society, as an unconstitutional, and therefore illegal, and seditious organisation. What may be the result, we are not competent to say. If permitted to go on, it has every prospect of plunging the nation into a civil war.

The American Anti-slavery Society is virtually a State

for all its purposes of action. It has a Constitution, a legislative and executive power, a polity with its minor and larger departments, its secretaries and fiscal operations, and its subsidiary agencies without number. It imposes contributions, and can raise money to an indefinite amount. It is independent; its field is the jurisdiction of the republic; without the expense of maintaining civil order, it avails itself of all its advantages; usurping the business of the State, it claims the State's protection; and while the State is neutral in respect to it, it is invading the State's domain. It has as much of a State organisation, and wields every power of a State, that is necessary in such circumstances, and is gradually multiplying and extending these powers, as the exigencies of its own policy require. And for aught that would appear—nay, rather, from the spirit which generally animates its ranks, whenever the time shall come for the use of the sword, it is as likely to take it in hand, for offensive or defensive operations, under any tolerable chances of success, as any other body. If the Government of the country should pronounce it unconstitutional and illegal, as undoubtedly it is—unless two independent political powers can occupy the same jurisdiction—and if a mandate should be issued for its suppression, it would not be strange or surprising to see it utter defiance, and resolve to go on, peaceably if it can, forcibly if it must.

It is the perfect novelty and anomalous character of this institution, that has delayed public action in relation to it so long. A new thing takes the world by surprise. But when once it gets to be understood, we imagine, there can be but one opinion among the sober respecting it; and that is, that either the Government of the country, or this organisation, must give way.

The great mistake of American Abolitionism is, that

it has left the ground of a moral reformation, and stepped into the arena of political strife. Instead of confining itself to the correction of opinion in a legitimate way, it has put itself to the task of remodelling the machinery of society; and the latter is now its principal occupation. Confiding in the power of its own organisation—as well it might—and not dreaming that its legality in relation to the political structure of the State, would be drawn in question, it has looked upon the field as its own, and concluded, that it had only to enter, to be victorious.

In Great Britain and other States of Europe, where religion is allied to the State, and where the two powers have been permitted to act together, and both politically, where political questions concern them both, the case is different. But in America, it is fatal to a religious or moral reformation, when it attempts to avail itself of political powers; or when, in its progress, it meddles with political matters. In seeking for aid in that quarter where the opinion of the community denies it, and not only so, but regards the attempt as a trespass and criminal usurpation, it sacrifices that influence which is rightfully its own, and defeats its own purpose. In such a course, it may possibly augment its authority over a few; but it will as certainly be doomed to resign its sway over the many.

For example: It is but a few years since, that among other laudable attempts at reformation, a Sabbath Observance Society, or some such name, was formed in America, and a vigorous effort made for action on the General Government, to obtain a law to stop the running and opening of the Mail on Sundays. Petitions from man, woman, and child, poured in upon the tables of Congress, like a flood. Congress was panic-struck—so it would seem—and imagined they saw the ghost of Church and State entering the legislative Hall; the camps of democracy throughout the

land were agitated, and stirred up to resistance; a Committee of Congress was appointed to consider and report on the exigency, of which the Honourable—now Excellent—Richard M. Johnson, was chairman. His Honour reconnoitred the apparition, and identified it with the Ghost of departed tyranny; he buckled on his armour, and took the quill; he sounded long and loud the peal of alarm; told the nation how much evil this monster had done in the world, how it was suffered to be banished from America, but now had the audacity to appear again, and set foot on the threshold of the Capitol, demanding to be re-installed in its former office, and invested with its rightful powers. Whereupon, before this hue-and-cry raised throughout the land, the Ghost was as badly frightened as Congress and the people, shrunk away into its wonted sphere of invisibilities, and has not been seen or heard of since.

Mr. Johnson's Report obtained immortality, was printed in gold letters (no joke), hung up in frames on the walls in the people's houses, from one end of the land to the other, as a memento of the past and warning for the future; and that Report has made Richard M. Johnson Vice-President of the United States! And yet no Christian can deny, that the cause, which thus alarmed the American public, was a good one, and prudently managed, might have done good. But it was strangled in the birth. Not till history is forgotten, can another movement of the kind be made in America.

Not long afterwards, a prominent Presbyterian Clergyman of Philadelphia thought fit to preach and publish a sermon, wherein it was set forth, and conclusively proved, that on such and such contingencies of united religious effort of the religious public, the majority of the American people could be made religious; consequently, they might carry their religious influence to the polls; consequently

the religious would be able to turn all the profane out of office; and consequently, the American people would become a Christian nation! Than which nothing could be more horrible to the democracy of the country. And so the cloven foot of Church and State was here again disclosed, by the indiscretion of an individual. To the great annoyance of the Reverend Doctor, and to the scandal of the church to which he belonged, this sermon was a long time made a very conspicuous affair, and a fruitful topic for solemn warning, by the Democratic press.

The same process is now going on to blast the Temperance reformation in America. Not content with the proper field, and legitimate weapons, of a moral reformation, on which ground no inconsiderable trophies had been gained, with much promise for the future, the most prominent public agents of this cause are continually beating up recruits for the polls, and demanding legislative enactments in their favour. Undoubtedly it is a fit subject of legislation, and much might be accomplished in that way, on motion of unsuspected characters. The State of Massachusetts—of good old Puritan stamp—has already passed a law, prohibiting licenses for the sale of ardent spirits in a quantity less than fifteen gallons—not exactly requiring a man to drink fifteen gallons at once, for that would be an act of oppression—but cutting off all the toppers from the chance of getting drams at the customary styes of intoxication, and depriving the trade of the profits. It is charged upon the authors of this movement, that the Commonwealth has been taken by surprise; and the great political contest of that State, at this moment, lies between the toppers and the tea-totollers, with a tolerable chance, that the toppers will be victorious; in which result, and according to the definitions of the Temperance Society, a majority of the people of Massachusetts

will be proved drunkards; a sad and discouraging contradiction to the Society's reports of the progress of the reformation; for it would seem to be an advance backwards, and no small scandal to the community. At the best, the reformation bids fair to come to its death in the violence of a political squabble. Once admitted into that arena, to be well engaged, it will hardly come out in good condition. No public effort for the cause of religion and morals in America has ever survived such a conflict; and if there be any advice in history, it is quite probable no other ever will; not in this age, certainly.

We mean not, that the undertaking to remodel political society is the sole mistake of American Abolitionism, leaving its grand organisation justified. We are opposed to such organisations altogether, for religious and moral reformations. First, because they are an anomaly in society; next, because there is no call for them; and lastly, because they are unsafe engines of power.

First, they are anomalous—an invention of the age, the tendencies of which are constantly developing alarming symptoms. They are uncalled for: It would be a libel on the Christian Church to admit, that its organisation by its Divine Founder, and under the ministry of his commissioned Agents, the Apostles, is inadequate to the objects of Christianity. The Christian Church is a form of religious association, involving an agency, which has long been recognised by the world, and is universally tolerated. Let the religious zeal, that has been subtracted from the Church, and cast into these other and independent corporations, be restored to its proper sphere of action, it would at least have the confidence of the public, and, as we believe, would be more useful in the end.

But these societies are unsafe engines of power, in such a state of society, as exists in America, where there is no

balance of influence, and no means of check to their excesses and usurpations. Powerful, most potent engines, certainly they are. First, they form themselves; and next, they acquire the power of forming the public. The rest may be conceived. Admitting that the outset is good and useful, the temptations to ambition are great; and no class of men are more liable to the abuse of power, than the religious. We say not this to impeach their character, within their appropriate sphere; for we hold it to be sacred, and have no concern that the world will not regard it so. But an absorption in the spiritual offices of religion is a disqualification for temporal concerns; and when the religious attempt to carry on their enterprises in the moral world, by that species of machinery, that is proper to political organisations, they are not only out of place, but divested of their appropriate character; and, as men, they are liable to all the temptations of the new and unaccustomed position.

We say, therefore, that it is not only unfortunate for American Abolitionism, and likely to prove fatal to its efforts for a season, that it has adopted a political machinery at war with the State; but also, that it has adopted any such-like machinery at all. The cause is holy, and must prevail. It is only necessary to keep it before the public in the customary forms of speech and of the press, and it *will* prevail, as soon as such a change in society can be effected with safety, and for the good of all parties—provided always, that no obstacles be thrown in the way, by these rash proceedings.

NOTE M. Page 143.

State of Africa, and some other parts of the world, as regards Slavery.

The condition of Africa, so far as it can be ascertained is truly deplorable. Mungo Park estimates the slavery of

its population at *three-fourths* of the whole; Lander at *four-fifths*; and it is a most cruel bondage. "It is evident," says Park, "that it is a system of no modern date. It probably had its origin in the remote ages of antiquity, before the Mohammedans explored a path across the Desert. How far it is maintained and supported by the slave-traffic, which for two hundred years the nations of Europe have carried on with the natives of the coast, it is neither within my province, nor within my power, to explain. If my sentiments should be desired concerning the effect which a discontinuance of this commerce would produce on the manners of the natives, I should have no hesitation in saying, that in the present unenlightened state of their minds, my opinion is, the effect would neither be so extensive, or beneficial, as many wise and worthy persons fondly expect. All these unfortunate beings (slaves in Africa) are considered as strangers and foreigners, who have no right to the protection of the law, and may be treated with severity, or sold to a stranger, according to the pleasure of their owners. It is a known fact, that prisoners of war in Africa are the slaves of the conquerors. Such of their prisoners, as through age or infirmity, are unable to endure fatigue, or are found unfit for sale, are considered useless, and, I have no doubt, are put to death." Thus Mungo Park.

. "The use that is sometimes made of this power," says the Rev. Stephen Kay, corresponding member of the South African Institution, &c.—(the power of the African chiefs over their subjects) "is iniquitous in the extreme; and, should the subject dare to withhold even his wife, when demanded, he thereby places himself in the most perilous situation. By predatory excursions alone, Caffraria has often been made a field of blood. Other causes, indeed, there are, from which strife, contention, and bloodshed have

arisen; but in nine cases out of ten, at least, the native troops are mustered either to pillage their weaker neighbours, or to retaliate upon some thievish aggressor. Such is the estimate of life in general, the death of a female by violence attracts comparatively little attention. The husband laments the loss of his wife, as the master does that of his slave, whom he has bought and paid for."

"The infidelity of the Soolima women," says Major Laing, "is a never-failing source of litigation, as in all other countries, where, for want of being treated with due respect, they have no character to uphold. Like all other African females, they are loose in morals, as I could perceive from the numerous palavers which were brought before the king."

"This," says Mr. Kay, "is precisely the case in every part of Kafferland. Their modes of torture are various, and in some instances indescribably horrid. Beating with a club, until the victims are almost lifeless, is a comparatively mild measure. They are more frequently bound down, and tormented by means of large black ants, with which their bodies are literally covered. Roasting and branding constitute a fiery ordeal. Posts are firmly fixed in the ground, at certain distances, and to these the culprit is tied with thongs, and with his arms and legs stretched to the very uttermost. A fire is then kindled on each side of him, at his head, and at his feet. Here he broils; and when he seems likely to expire, the fires are partly removed; but it is only to shift the torture. Hot stones are next applied to the breast, the abdomen, the inner parts of the thighs, or to the soles of the feet, which are thus burnt until the sinews shrink, and parts of the muscular system are completely destroyed."

The following is the scene of a massacre, described by the same hand: "It was indescribably shocking. Old decrepit men, with their bodies pierced, and heads almost

cut off; pregnant females ripped open; legs broken, and hands severed from the arm, as if for the purpose of getting the armlets, or some other trifling ornament; little children mutilated and horribly mangled; many in whom the spark of life had become quite extinct; some who were still struggling in the agonies of death, and crawling about among the dead. One brutal savage was seen deliberately cutting off the breasts of a female, whom he had thrown down upon the ground for the purpose."

Our object in these quotations, is merely to suggest, what is very well known, the exceedingly barbarous state of the African Continent, and the savage nature of the African himself in his native land—as we have taken upon us to state, in the text, that it is better to be a slave in America, than a free man in Africa—not to justify bondage, however, but to view things in the lights of comparison.

The miserable condition of the human beings, that are doomed to labour in the British manufactories, has been sufficiently exposed by the investigations of the British Parliament.

The number of paupers in Europe, independently of Great Britain, is estimated at 11,000,000; the number of those, whom the least remission of labour, or diminution of wages, or the product of their toils, would at once reduce to want, is 50,000,000; and the number of actually indigent, 17,000,000.

In the kingdom of Hungary the rights of the peasantry rest on an ordinance of Maria Theresa, some of which are as follow :—

"The peasants are forbid to collect money, or natural productions, and the offenders are to be punished with twenty-four strokes of the cane.

"The peasants are not allowed to collect *Knoppenn*

Galls, nor to knock down acorns, as they belong entirely to the landlord ; but are prohibited as contraband, and the offenders are further to be punished with three days' hand labour.

“ Peasants are not to carry a gun, nor to keep sporting-dogs, under penalty of three days' hand labour.

“ When a peasant, out of idleness, or carelessness, after being called to his labour, does not come to it, he is to be punished with twelve strokes of a cane.

“ If any peasant shall sell flesh meat from another place, or cut up and sell flesh meat, thereby taking away the profits of the shambles from the landlord, this shall be considered as contraband, and the peasant shall be further punished with three days' hand labour.

“ The widows of deceased peasants must observe the order of the twenty-first article of the Seventh of King Uladislaus, which orders that, if they marry again, they must not quit their homes without permission of their landlord ; otherwise their whole property will be at his disposal.”

The landed property of Hungary, and most of that of Germany, belongs to the nobility ; and the peasants generally are subjected to a severe, and often to a cruel bondage.

Mr. Coxe says of Russia :—“ Peasants belonging to individuals are the private property of the landholders, as much as implements of agriculture, or herds of cattle ; and the value of an estate is estimated, as in Poland, by the number of boors, not by the number of acres In Russia, the person who harbours another's vassal is subject to a heavy fine. With respect to his own demands upon his peasants, the lord is restrained by no law, either in the exaction of any sum, or in the mode of employing [them]. He is absolute master of their time, and of their labour. Some he employs in agriculture ; a

few he makes his menial servants, and perhaps without wages; and from others he exacts an annual payment. Several instances of these exactions fell under my own observation: a mason, who was rated at six pounds sterling per annum; a smith, at twelve; and others as high as twenty. With regard to any capital they may have acquired by their industry, it may be seized, and there is no redress; as, according to the old feudal law which still exists, a slave cannot institute a process against his master. Hence it occasionally happens, that several peasants who have gained a large capital, cannot purchase their liberty for any sum, because they are subject, as long as they continue slaves, to be pillaged by their masters.”*

Thus, we see, there is slavery all the world over, in civilised and barbarous countries. Africa itself is full of it, and of the worst sort. Europe is full of it. There is something that looks like slavery in her manufactories, in Great Britain, Ireland, and elsewhere. Asia is covered with it; and it seems to have been discovered, that there are five millions of slaves in British India, held under the proper slave tenure, not to speak of the general condition of the population under British jurisdiction in that quarter of the globe, the great portion of which might well envy those slaves in civilised countries, who are provided by their masters. Imagination may work upon a *name*; sound judgment looks at the *reality*. There is less of slavery in America, than in any other part of the world; and too much, certainly, so long as there is any. We have shown, that we have no taste for it. We detest it; we abhor it; and will use all our influence to bring it to an end. We are born and educated to hate slavery; and we have never seen any reason to entertain a more favourable opinion. But we detest it

* Cox's Travels in Russia.

most when the reality is maintained, and the shadow chased ; when luxury fattens on its sweat and fevered blood, while the cant of hypocritical disclaimer turns its eye-balls to heaven, or looks far off to another land, weeping a sympathy which feels not for the misery that lies at its own door.

NOTE N. Page 150.

Disposal of American Slavery.

Since writing Chapter XI. on the question—How can American slavery be disposed of?—we have accidentally met with the following Documents, which suggest precisely the same principle, nearly in the same form of application, with that which we have displayed towards the conclusion of this chapter, for the disposal of American slavery. We were not aware it had ever been proposed, and are gratified in being sustained by the authority of such names, as the Hon. Rufus King, Chief Justice Marshall, and James Madison.

In the Senate of the United States, February 18th, 1825 :

“ Mr. King, of New York, rose, and said, that in offering the resolution he was about to submit, though it was a subject of great national importance, he did not desire to debate it, nor did he offer it with a view to present consideration. He submitted it as a matter for the future consideration of the Senate, and hoped it would be received by all parts of the House, as one entitled to its serious attention. He then laid on the table the following resolution :

“ *Resolved by the Senate of the United States of America*—That as soon as the portion of the existing

funded debt of the United States, for the payment of which the public land of the United States is pledged, shall have been paid off, then and thenceforth, the whole of the public land of the United States, with the nett proceeds of all future sales thereof, shall constitute and form a fund, which is hereby appointed, and the faith of the United States is hereby pledged, that the said fund shall be inviolably applied to aid the emancipation of such slaves within any of the United States, and to aid the removal of such slaves, and the removal of such free persons of colour, in any of the said States, as by the laws of the States respectively may be allowed to be emancipated, or removed to any territory or country without the limits of the United States of America."

This resolution was ordered to be printed, and stands in the Journals of the Senate.

CHIEF JUSTICE MARSHALL has left the following record on this document :—

"On this subject, I have always thought, and still think, that the proposition made by Mr. King, in the Senate, is the most unexceptionable, and the most effective, that can be devised. The fund would probably operate as rapidly as would be desirable, when we take into view the other resources which might come in aid of it; and its application would be, perhaps, less exposed to those Constitutional objections which are made in the South, than the application of money drawn from the Treasury, and raised by taxes. The lands are the property of the United States, and have heretofore been disposed of by the Government under the idea of absolute ownership."

JAMES MADISON, who, as is known, was President of the United States, made the following remarks on this subject :—

"In contemplating the pecuniary resources needed for

the removal of such a number (of the coloured race) to so great a distance, my thoughts and hopes have been long turned to the rich fund in the Western lands of the nation, which will soon entirely cease to be under pledge for another object. [That pledge is now redeemed.] The great one in question is truly of a national character ; and it is known that distinguished patriots, not dwelling in slave-holding States, have viewed the object in that light, and would be willing to let the national domain be a resource in effecting it.

“ Should it be remarked of the States—though all may be interested in relieving our country of a coloured population—that they are not equally so, it is but fair to recollect, that the sections most to be benefited are those whose cessions created the fund to be disposed of.

“ I am aware of the Constitutional obstacle which has presented itself ; but if the general will be reconciled to an application of the territorial fund to the removal of the coloured population, a grant to Congress of the necessary authority would be carried with little delay through the forms of the Constitution.”

NOTE O. Page 153.

American State Papers on Religion.

Extracts from sundry Constitutional State Papers of America, comprehending the political creed of the Americans respecting religion.

Constitution of the United States :—

“ Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.”

Rhode Island.—Charter of Charles II.

“ Know ye, that *We*—because some of the people and

inhabitants of the same Colony cannot, in their private opinion, conform to the public exercise of religion, according to the liturgy, form, and ceremonies of the Church of England, to take or subscribe the articles made and established in that behalf—have, therefore, thought fit, and do hereby publish, grant, ordain, and declare, that our royal will and pleasure is—That no person within the said Colony, at any time hereafter, shall be anywise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question, for any difference of opinion in matters of religion, who do not actually disturb the civil peace of our said Colony; but that all and every person and persons may, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, freely and fully have, and enjoy his own and their judgments and consciences, in matters of religious concernments—they behaving themselves peaceably and quietly, and not using their liberty to licentiousness and profaneness, nor to the civil injury and outward disturbance of others—any laws, statutes, or clause therein contained, usage or custom of this realm, to the contrary hereof, in anywise notwithstanding.”

Constitution of Massachusetts :—

“ It is the right, as well as the duty of all men in society, publicly, and at stated seasons, to worship the Supreme Being, the Great Creator and Preserver of the Universe. And no subject shall be hurt, molested, or restrained, in his person, liberty, or estate, for worshipping God in the manner and seasons most agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience; or for his religious profession, or sentiments—provided he doth not disturb the public peace, or obstruct others in their religious worship.

“ As the happiness of a people, and the good of order, and preservation of civil government, essentially depend upon piety, religion, and morality; and these cannot be

generally diffused through a community, but by the institutions of the public worship of God, and of public institutions in piety, religion, and morality—Therefore, to promote their happiness, and to secure the good order and preservation of their government, the people of this Commonwealth have a right to invest their legislature with power to authorise and require, and the legislature shall, from time to time, authorise and require, the several towns, parishes, and bodies politic, or religious societies, to make suitable provisions, at their own expense, for the institution of the public worship of God, and for the support and maintenance of public Protestant teachers of piety, religion, and morality, in all cases where such provision shall not be made voluntarily.

“ All the people of this Commonwealth have also a right to, and do invest their legislature with authority to enjoin upon all the subjects an attendance upon the public teachers, as aforesaid, at stated times and seasons, if there be any on whose instructions they can conscientiously and conveniently attend—Provided, notwithstanding, that the several towns, parishes, precincts, and the other bodies politic, or religious societies, shall at all times have the exclusive right of electing their public teachers, and of contracting with them for their support and maintenance.

“ All monies paid by the subject to the support of public worship, and of the public teachers aforesaid, shall, if he require, be uniformly applied to the support of the public teacher or teachers of his own sect or denomination, provided there be any on whose instruction he attends; otherwise, it may be paid towards the support of the teacher or teachers of the parish or precinct, in which the said monies are raised.

“ And every denomination of Christians, demeaning themselves peaceably and as good subjects of the Com-

monwealth, shall be equally under the protection of the law ; and no subordination of any sect or denomination to another, shall ever be established by law.

Constitution of New Hampshire:—

..... “ And whenever any minister is settled by any incorporated town or parish, any person dissenting, shall have liberty, either at the meeting, or previous to the ordination of the minister, or within one month after the vote obtained for his settlement, to enter his dissent with the town or parish clerk, against paying or contributing to the support of said minister; and all minors, who after such settlement shall come of age, and all inhabitants of such town or parish, who are absent from the same at the time of such meeting or settlement, and all persons, who, after such settlement, move into such town or parish to reside, shall have three months from their time of coming of full age, returning into town, or moving in to reside, as aforesaid, respectively, to enter their dissent, with the town or parish clerk, as aforesaid. And all persons who do not enter their dissent, as aforesaid, shall be bound by the major vote of such town or parish; and it shall be considered as their voluntary contract, &c.

Constitution of New Jersey:—

..... “ That no person within this Colony shall ever be obliged to pay tithes, taxes, or any other rates, for the purpose of building, or repairing any church or churches, place or places of worship, or for the maintenance of any minister or ministry, contrary to what he believes to be right, or has deliberately and voluntarily engaged himself to perform; that there shall be no establishment of any one religious sect in preference to another; and that no Protestant inhabiting this colony shall be denied the en-

joyment of any civil right, merely on account of religious principles ; but that all persons, professing the faith of any Protestant sect, who shall demean themselves peaceably under the Government, as hereby established, shall be capable of being elected into any office of profit or trust, or being a member of either branch of the legislature, and shall freely and fully enjoy every privilege and immunity enjoyed by others, their fellow-subjects."

Constitution of New York :—

..... " That no member of this State shall be disfranchised, or deprived of any of the rights or privileges secured to any citizen thereof, unless by the law of the land, or the judgment of his peers.

" That the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall for ever be allowed in this State to all mankind. But the liberty of conscience hereby secured, shall not be continued so as to excuse acts of licentiousness, or justify practices inconsistent with the peace and safety of this State.

" And whereas, the ministers of the Gospel are by their profession dedicated to the service of God and the cure of souls, and ought not to be diverted from the great duties of their function—Therefore, no minister of the Gospel, or priest of any denomination whatsoever, shall at any time hereafter, under any pretence or description whatever, be eligible to, or capable of holding, any civil or military office, or place, within this State."

Constitution of Pennsylvania :—

" All men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences ; no man, of right, can be compelled to attend, erect, or support, any place of worship, or to maintain any

ministry, against his consent ; no human authority can in any case whatever control, or interfere with, the rights of conscience ; and no preference shall ever be given by law to any religious establishment, or modes of worship.

“ No person, who acknowledges the being of God, and a future state of rewards and punishments, shall, on account of his religious sentiments, be disqualified to hold any office, or place of trust or profit, under this Commonwealth.”

Constitution of Delaware :—

“ Although it is the duty of all men frequently to assemble together for the public worship of the Author of the Universe, and piety and morality, on which the prosperity of communities depends, are thereby promoted ; yet no man shall or ought to be compelled, &c. And no power shall or ought to be vested in any magistrate, that shall in any case interfere with, or in any manner control, the rights of conscience, &c. Nor a preference given by law to any religious societies, denominations, or modes of worship.

“ No religious test shall be required, as a qualification for any office, or public trust, under this State.”

Constitution of Maryland :—

..... “ The legislature may, in their discretion, lay a general and equal tax for the support of the Christian religion, &c.” allowing the person taxed, however, a voice in its appropriation to that sect that is most agreeable to him.

Constitution of North Carolina :—

..... “ That no person, who shall deny the being of a God, or the truth of the Protestant religion, or the Divine authority of the Old or New Testament, or who

shall hold religious principles incompatible with the freedom or safety of the State, shall be capable of holding any office, or place of trust or profit, in the civil department within this State.

“ And that preachers of treasonable or seditious discourse, shall not be exempted from legal trial or punishment.”

Remarks.

In these extracts, we have not thought it necessary to display passages from every one of the *twenty-six documents* of this class, that have been adopted by the same number of States, composing the American Union, as it would be a useless and irksome repetition. We have also, in several instances, and for the same reason, given but a small part of what is to be found in these several documents on this particular point, as will be apparent to the reader from their obvious incompleteness. Our object has been to present the *sum* of the American religioso-political creed, in all its varieties, as it is collected from these State Papers ; and as far as possible, without unnecessary repetition. And we are disposed to believe, that the foregoing specimens, taken comprehensively, are a fair display. What one State has omitted, another has furnished. The feeling of the American people is so much alike on this subject, that, with little exception, whatever we find in the Bill of Rights* and Constitution of one State, not to be found in another, may be taken as the voice of the whole.

In sundry grand particulars, the States of the Union are perfectly unanimous, viz. in declaring and defending the

* It should be remarked, that we have not taken pains, in our quotations, to distinguish passages of Bills of Rights from those of Constitutions, as the former have the same force with the latter, and are often stated in the form of law. They are considered a part of the Constitutions.

rights of conscience for all ; in barring the door against the political ascendancy of any one sect or denomination of Christians above another ; in consenting that a catholic Christianity is the law of the land ; and in professing the belief, that its morals and piety are not only beneficial to the State, but indispensable to its greatest prosperity and happiness.

In some other particulars, as will have been seen, they are not unanimous. Some, for example, assert the right of taxation for the support of religion, while others deny and prohibit it. The former is the fact in the Constitutions of Massachussetts, New Hampshire, and Maryland ; and that of Massachussetts, it will be observed, presses the point so far as to claim the right of *compelling attendance* on public worship, &c. Such, in olden time, was the practice of that State, with the imposition of fines and penalties for delinquency. But this Puritanical care cannot now be asserted. Neither does it avail much, in these times, to maintain the right of taxation, while the right of choosing one's own sect remains, and practically nullifies the precept. It is now a general truth, throughout the American Union, that the support of religion is entirely voluntary.

The Charters, from which we have quoted, bear dates as follow :—The Constitution of the United States, 1789 ; the Charter of Charles II. to Rhode Island, under which it has been governed, with the exception of transferring allegiance to the United States, was given in the fourteenth year of his reign ; that of Massachussetts dates 1780 ; of New Hampshire, 1792 ; of New York, (revised), 1821 ; of Pennsylvania, (revised), 1838 ; of New Jersey, 1776 ; of Delaware, 1792. Some of these, of earlier date, have since been altered and amended ; but not having the copies in hand, we are unable to say, what modifications they have undergone, in relation to this subject.

The State of Maryland, in her Constitution of 1766—(they have a new one, adopted in 1838)—confirmed the title-deeds of the Church of England in “all Churches, Chapels, Glebes, and all other property belonging to it;” as also all legislation actually instituted in favour of that Church, but not executed; but inhibited any future grants, larger than two acres for a Church and burying-ground, without leave of the Legislature. We are not aware that this faith, originally pledged, has ever been violated.

Whereas, the State of Virginia, having once passed a similar act, reserving the property of the Episcopal Church to her own use “for all time coming,” laid hands upon it in 1802, and sold it for the uses of the public.

“When the colonists first resorted to arms,” says Dr. Hawks, in his Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the United States, “Virginia, in her sixty-one counties, contained ninety-five parishes, one-hundred and sixty-four Churches and Chapels, and ninety-one clergymen. When the contest was over, she came out of the war with a large number of her Churches destroyed, or injured irreparably, with twenty-three of her ninety-five parishes extinct or forsaken, and of the remaining seventy-two, thirty-four were destitute of ministerial services; while of her ninety-one clergymen, twenty-eight only remained, who had lived through the storm; and these with eight others, who came into the State soon after the struggle terminated, supplied thirty-six of the parishes. Of these twenty-eight, fifteen only had been enabled to continue in the Churches which they supplied prior to the commencement of hostilities; and had been driven from their cures by violence or want, to seek safety or comfort in some one of the many vacant parishes, where they might hope to find, for a time at least, exemption from the extremity of suffering It is scarcely possible for the Churchman, even now, to look without

tears upon the venerable remains of mouldering Churches which meet his eye 'in the ancient dominion.' As he gazes upon the roofless walls, or leans upon the little remnant of railing which once surrounded a now deserted chancel, as he looks out through the openings of a broken wall upon the hillocks under which the dead of former years are sleeping, with no sound to disturb his melancholy musings save the whispers of the wind through the leaves of the forest around him, he may be pardoned, should he drop a tear over the desolated house of God; and if he be a pious Churchman, the wreck around him may awaken thoughts of submission and humiliation, which will send him from the spot a sadder and a better man. The sacred vessels have been scattered; they have passed in some instances into impious hands. Within our own times has the fact occurred, that a reckless sensualist has administered the morning dram to his guests from the silver cup, which has often contained the consecrated symbol of the Saviour's blood. In another instance, the entire set of Communion plate of one of the old Churches, is in the hands of one who belongs to the society of the Baptists. It has fallen to the lot of the Bishop of Virginia, in the course of his visitations, to witness the conversion of a marble baptismal font into a watering-trough for horses."

Through the influence of Thomas Jefferson, as we understand, in order to purchase the political votes of the enemies of the Church, the Constitution and laws of Virginia, and of Kentucky—once a part of Virginia—have been so ordered, as to refuse corporate powers to all religious societies and Churches, so that they can hold no property, except mediately in the faith of deeds of trust. Thus hath Virginia fallen; and whether it be the judgment of God or not, her glory is waning, and her prosperity departing. Notwithstanding, however, it is to be recorded, that the

Protestant Episcopal Church of that State has weathered the storm, which has so long beat upon her exposed and ruined altars, and is rising again in beauty and moral grandeur, while the swallow nestles in her deserted churches, and the sheep ensconce there from the scorching rays of the summer's sun, or from the chills of the winter's blast.

While the passage we have quoted from the Constitution of the United States, may be taken as a fair specimen of the public will, it is an obvious gratuity, and presents a rather discreditable grammatical imperfection: "Congress shall make no law respecting"—no law *whatever*, prohibiting or sanctioning—"an establishment of religion." Whereas, the meaning doubtless is—no law to *establish*, &c. But, it is a *gratuity*: all such legislation belongs to States respectively. It would have been proper for the National Constitution to establish the principle, that the *States* shall make no law for an establishment of religion. Moreover—except that it was quite unnecessary—it might have ordered that the General Government, in its occasions for the services of Chaplains, should give no preference to any one sect above another.

The jurisdiction of the States, as is known, comprehends territorially that of the United States, in fact or in contemplation, excepting only the District of Columbia, ten miles square, which is set apart for the domiciliary purposes of the General Government. All other parts of the General Government. All other parts of the territory of the Union, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Northern to the Southern frontier, which are not already erected into States for self-government, are by the national Constitution provisionally consecrated to that destiny. The only utterance, therefore, proper to the Constitution of the United States on this subject, would have been, not to de-

clare what Congress, but what the States respectively, might or might not do.

It is a singular fact, that the earliest Constitutional document, still acted upon in the United States for the free exercise of religion, in distinction from the constraints of a State establishment in favour of a particular sect, was given under the sign manual of King Charles II. for the benefit of Rhode Island and Providence plantations. And certainly, it cannot be denied, that it guarantees all that could be asked. Whether the effect of this has been beneficial, in its political and moral results, in comparison of the state of things in Connecticut, which bounds Rhode Island on the West, and in Massachusetts which bounds it on the North—in both of which the reins of religious control have been held with a tighter hand—has been drawn in question by those who profess to be acquainted with the state of society in these three neighbouring States respectively. “How many Gods are there?” said a wayfaring man to a boy in Connecticut, near the border of Rhode Island. “One, Sir.” Having passed over the line into the neighbouring State, he is reported to have put the same question to a boy in that Commonwealth: “How many Gods are there, my lad?” “There is no God in Rhode Island, Sir.”

It is due to this State, however, to say, that the high character of the good city of Providence, for its manners, morals, and religion—with which may be classed Newport, Bristol, and some other towns—together with the redeeming influences of Brown University, are placing this little State—proverbially called “Little Rhody”—on a footing approximating nearer to that of a Christian community. Nevertheless, the religious liberty secured by the grace of Charles II. proved rather inefficient; and that

generous prince evinced his foresight and prudence by inserting the clause—" *provided*, they use not this liberty to licentiousness and profaneness."

The use of the word "subject" in the republican Constitution of Massachusetts shows the power of habit in a Puritan head; and the introduction, consecutively, of the synonyms, "the Supreme Being, the Great Creator, and Preserver of the Universe," reminds one very strikingly of the customary repetitions of this high and sacred name in a Puritanical prayer. No Christian, however, can fail to be edified by the exceeding care manifested in the Constitutions of Massachusetts and New Hampshire; and we have omitted all of the latter, which is a mere repetition of that of the former—to secure the support and observances of religion. Albeit, the State of Massachusetts has not succeeded in *compelling* attendance on public worship.

The political doctrines of the Constitution of Massachusetts are obviously a very great softening down or abatement of the ground originally assumed, by the Puritans, over conscience. Like the first reformers from Popery, who still continued to assert some high and very questionable powers—not having yet discerned the course and scope of their principles—so the Puritans of New England, having eluded the religious tyranny of their father-land, deemed themselves entitled to say, "Procul, O procul, este profani," to Quakers, and Baptists, and others, not agreeing with them in religious opinions; and to enact laws for their exclusion, after they had followed in train to America for the enjoyment of religious liberty. As much as to say, "The Continent is wide. We came here to be by ourselves. Therefore, don't disturb us, Go where ye will." There was some reason, if there was a want of consistency, in this. They desired to maintain the integrity of their religious Commonwealth, which had cost them so much pain and

sacrifice. Nevertheless, they failed, and got to themselves some scandal in the attempt.

New Jersey, it would seem, had an eye on the Papists, as also North Carolina, both having made them an exception in their grants of privilege, not directly, indeed; but in a way to afford some useful and practical hints, and to let them feel, that they were put on good behaviour. But times have altered, and the Papists may henceforth hold up their heads in America. Their political importance is too great, not to secure them favour with the democracy of the country, with which they have taken sides.

The disfranchising of clergymen by the Constitution of New York, is not only directly in the face of the first clause we have quoted, but a very great rudeness. Public opinion in America is quite sufficient for a law in this case, as it is generally in all countries. There are, however, exceptions, when the public will not only tolerate, but sanction it, by their votes. We presume there has never been a Congress without one or more clergymen, or ministers of one denomination or another, on the list of its members; they are often found in the State legislatures, as also in other civil offices. Several of the States, indeed, have disqualified clergymen to act as civil functionaries, while engaged in their sacred calling; but none, but the State of New York, have been guilty of the indecorum of disfranchising them for ever. The present accomplished Governor of Massachusetts, His Excellency Edward Everett, a ripe scholar, an eloquent orator, and a man of unblemished reputation, has filled successively, and with distinguished credit, the chair of a Professor in Harvard University, Cambridge; the pulpit of Brattle-street Church, Boston; the Editorial seat of the North American Review; and for some years a place in the Hall of Representatives at the Capitol in the City of Washington.

The most remarkable features of American Constitutional legislation, touching religion, would hardly be complete, if we should omit to notice the Connecticut "Blue Laws." We beg leave, therefore, without note or comment, to transcribe a copy :—

1. "The Governor and Magistrates, convened in General Assembly, are the supreme power, under God, of this independent dominion.

2. "From the determination of the assembly no appeal shall be made.

3. "The Governor is amenable to the voice of the people.

4. "The Governor shall only have a single voice in determining any question, except a casting vote, when the assembly may be equally divided.

5. "The assembly of the people shall not be dismissed by the Governor, but shall dismiss itself.

6. "Conspiracy against the dominion shall be punished with Death.

7. "Whoever says, 'there is a power holding jurisdiction over and above this dominion,' shall be punished with Death, and *loss of property*.

8. "Whoever attempts to change or overturn this dominion, shall suffer Death.

9. "The Judges shall determine controversies without jury.

10. "No one shall be a freeman, or give a vote, unless he be converted, or a member in full communion of one of the Churches allowed in this dominion.

11. "No one shall hold any office, who is not sound in the faith, and faithful to this dominion ; and whoever gives a vote to such a person shall pay a fine of one pound. For the second offence, shall be disfranchised.

12. "No Quaker, or Dissenter from the established

worship of this dominion, shall be allowed to give a vote for the election of Magistrates, or any officer.

13. " No food and lodging shall be allowed a Quaker, Adamite, or other heretic.

14. " If any person turns Quaker, he shall be banished, and not suffered to return, on pain of Death.

15. " No Priest shall abide in this dominion. He shall be banished, and suffer Death on his return. Priests may be seized by any one without warrant.

16. " No one shall cross a river, but with an authorised ferryman.

17. " No one shall run of a Sabbath Day, or walk in his garden, or elsewhere, except reverently to and from Church.

18. " No one shall travel, cook victuals, make beds, sweep houses, cut hair, or shave, on the Sabbath day.

19. " No husband shall kiss his wife, and no mother kiss her child, on the Sabbath day.

20. " A person accused of trespass in the night, shall be judged guilty, unless he clear himself by an oath.

21. " When it appears that an accomplice has confederates, and he refuses to discover them, he may be racked.

22. " No one shall buy or sell lands, without the permission of the select man.

23. " A drunkard shall have a master appointed by the select man, who is to debar him the privilege of buying or selling.

24. " Whoever publishes a lie to the prejudice of his neighbour, shall sit in the stocks, or be whipped fifteen stripes.

25. " No minister shall keep a school.

26. " Man-stealers shall suffer Death.

27. " Whoever wears clothes trimmed with silver or bone lace above two shillings a yard, shall be presented by the

grand jurors; and the select man shall tax the offender at the rate of three hundred pound estate.

28. "A debtor in prison, swearing he has no estate, shall be let out, and sold to make satisfaction.

29. "Whoever sets fire to the woods, and it burns a house, shall suffer Death, and persons suspected of the crime shall be imprisoned without the benefit of bail.

30. "Whoever brings cards or dice into this dominion, shall pay a fine of five pounds.

31. "No one shall read Common Prayer, keep Christmas or Saint's day, make mince pies, dance, or play on any instruments of music, except the drum, the trumpet, and the Jew's harp.

32. "When parents refuse their children suitable marriages, the magistrates shall determine the point.

33. "The select men, on finding children ignorant, may take them away from the parents, and put them into better hands, at the expense of their parents.

34. "A man that strikes his wife, shall pay a fine of ten pounds; a woman that strikes her husband, shall be punished as the Court directs.

35. "A wife shall be deemed good evidence against her husband.

36. "No one shall court a maid without first obtaining the consent of her parents—five pounds penalty for the first offence—ten pounds for the second—and for the third imprisonment during the pleasure of the Court.

37. "Married persons shall live together, or be imprisoned.

38. "Every male shall have his hair cut round according to a cap."

Those who might have been interested in the above document, ascribed to the primitive authorities of Connecticut,

will perhaps be edified by the following code, which was once in force in the Colony of Virginia, promulgated by Sir Thomas Dale, and said to have been compiled by Sir Thomas Smith, under the style of "Laws divine, moral, and martial." They are, perhaps, a little more *manly* than the "Blue Laws" of Connecticut, though they will probably be allowed to be sufficiently *sanguinary*. We quote only the "divine and moral" part, as the "martial" is not in point to the purposes of this Note :—

"I (Sir Thomas Dale) do strictly command and charge all captains and officers, of what quality or nature soever, whether commanders in the field, or in town, or towns, forts, or fortresses, to have a care, that the Almighty God be duly and daily served ; and that they call upon their people to hear sermons ; as that also they diligently frequent morning and evening prayer themselves, by their own exemplary and daily life and duty, herein encouraging others thereunto ; and that such as shall often and wilfully absent themselves, be duly punished according to the martial law in that case provided.

"That no man speak impiously or maliciously against the Holy and Blessed Trinity, or any of the three Persons ; that is to say, against God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost ; or against the known articles of the Christian faith, *upon pain of death*.

"That no man blaspheme God's holy name, upon pain of death ; or use unlawful oaths, taking the name of God in vain, curse, or ban, upon pain of severe punishment for the first offence so committed, and for the second to have a bodkin thrust through his tongue ; and if he continue the blaspheming of God's name, for the third time so offending, he shall be brought to a martial Court, and there receive censure of death for his offence.

"No man shall speak any word, or do any act, which

may tend to the derision or spite of God's holy word, upon pain of death. Nor shall any man unworthily demean himself unto any preacher or minister of the same, but generally hold them in all reverent regard and dutiful entreaty; otherwise, he, the offender, shall openly be whipped three times, and ask public forgiveness in the assembly of the Congregation three several Sabbath-days.

“ Every man and woman, duly twice a day, upon the first tolling of the bell, shall upon the working-days repair unto the Church to hear divine service, upon pain of losing his or her day's allowance for the first omission; for the second, to be whipped; and for the third, to be condemned to the gallies for six months. Likewise no man or woman, shall dare to violate or break the Sabbath by gaming, public or private, abroad or at home, but duly sanctify and observe the same, both himself and his family, by preparing themselves at home for private prayer, that they may be the better fitted for the public, according to the commandments of God, and the orders of our Church; as also every man and woman shall repair in the morning to the divine service, and to sermons preached upon the Sabbath-day, and in the afternoon to divine service and catechising; upon pain for the first fault to lose their provision and allowance for the whole week following: for the second, to lose the said allowance, and also to be whipped; and for the third, to suffer death.

“ All preachers or ministers within this our colony or colonies, shall in the forts where they are resident, after divine service, duly preached every Sabbath-day in the forenoon, and catechise in the afternoon, and weekly say the divine service twice every day, and preach every Wednesday; likewise every minister, where he is resident, within the same fort or fortresses, town or towns, shall choose unto him four of the most religious and better disposed, as well to inform

of the abuses and neglects of the people in their duties and service to God, as also to the due reparation and keeping the Church handsome, and fitted with all reverent observances thereunto belonging; likewise every minister shall keep a faithful and true word, or Church book, of all christenings, marriages, and deaths of such our people, as shall happen within their fort or fortress, town or towns, at any time, upon the burthen of a neglectful conscience, and upon pain of losing their entertainment (support).

“There is not one man nor woman, now present, or hereafter to arrive, but shall give up an account of his and their faith and religion, and repair unto the minister, that by his conference with them he may understand and gather, whether heretofore they have been sufficiently instructed, and catechised in the principles and grounds of religion; whose weakness and ignorance herein, the minister finding and advising them in all love and charity to repair often unto him, to receive therein a greater measure of knowledge. If they shall refuse so to repair unto him, and he, the minister, give notice thereof unto the governor, or that chief officer of that town or fort wherein he or she, the parties so offending, shall remain, the governor shall cause the offender for the first time of refusal to be whipped; for the second time to be whipped twice, and to acknowledge his fault upon the Sabbath-day in the assembly of the Congregation; and for the third time to be whipped every day until he hath made the same acknowledgment, and asked forgiveness of the same; and shall repair unto the minister to be further instructed, as aforesaid; and upon the Sabbath, when the minister shall catechise, and of him demand any question concerning his faith, he shall not refuse to make answer upon the same peril.”

A subsequent addition to this code by Deputy Governor Argall, readeth thus: “Every person shall go to church

Sundays and holy days, or lie neck and heels that night, and be a slave to the colony the following week ; for the second offence, he shall be a slave for a month ; and for the third, a year and a day."

"Good," says an anonymous Commentator of that day on this document, in a work published in London,—“Good are these beginnings wherein God is thus before ; good are these laws, and long may they stand in their due execution.”

And if the “divine and moral” part be thus, what must the “martial” be ?

NOTE P. Page 226.

American Democratic Pet Names of Public Men.

Although this note is not particularly applicable here, and was, in fact, designed for another place, but accidentally omitted ; yet as it involves a notice of Webster, and brings out a feature of American society not unworthy of regard, we are tempted to introduce it in this place, rather than omit it.

The most popular title of his Excellency, Joseph Ritner, Governor of Pennsylvania, are “Old Joe,” “Farmer Joe,” and “The Old Waggoner.” The Honourable Charles Naylor, member of Congress from Philadelphia, is most popular, and gains most in the feelings of his constituents, under the pet cognomen of “Charley, the Comb-maker,” and “the Journeyman comb-maker.” Daniel Fitler, candidate for Sheriff of the City and County of Philadelphia, appears on the electioneering placard, as “Old Dan, the Butcher.” These names refer, of course, to what have been, or now are, the honourable occupation of these gentlemen. Governor Ritner has done driving a Pennsylvania six-horse

waggon between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, a trip of some 400 to 500 miles: but it is understood, that such was the foundation of his greatness. He has now retired to the dignified employment of a German farmer. An imposing and attractive lithographic print has been published, representing the Governor following and guiding the plough in shirt-sleeves, in the act of stopping—if stopping be an act—and hat thrown upon the ground to cool his perspiring brow, which he seems to be turning to give answer to a messenger on State affairs. We have seen no print to show him off as “the Old Waggoner.”

To show that “Charley, the Comb-maker,” is not unworthy the pride bestowed upon him by his democratic constituents, and that he can well defend the honour of his craft, and of all kindred pursuits, we would offer the following extract from his maiden speech on the floor of Congress, at the special session of 1837. Mr. Pickens, of South Carolina, had thrown out a taunt at Northern labourers, pronounced them mercenaries, put them on a level with Southern slaves, and threatened to go and preach insurrection to them, as the Northern Abolitionists were trying to do to the slaves of the South. Whereupon, Mr. Naylor, “the Journeyman Comb-maker,” started to his feet, and among other things, said as follows:—

“I am a Northern labourer. Ay, Sir, it has been my lot to have inherited, as my only patrimony, at the early age of nine years, nothing but naked orphanage and utter destitution. Houseless and homeless, fatherless and pennyless, I was obliged, from that day forward, to earn my daily bread by my daily labour. And now, Sir, when I take my seat in this Hall, as the free representative of a free people, am I to be *sneered* at as a Northern labourer, and degraded into a comparison with the poor, oppressed, and suffering negro slave? Is such the genius and spirit of our institu-

tions? If it be, then did our fathers fight, and bleed, and struggle, and die in vain!

“But, Sir, the gentleman has misconceived the spirit and tendency of Northern institutions. He has forgotten the history of his country. Preach insurrection to Northern labourers! Preach insurrection to *me*! Who are the Northern labourers? The history of your country is *their* country; the renown of your country is *their* renown; the brightness of their doings is emblazoned on its every page. Blot from your annals the deeds and the doings of Northern labourers, and the history of your country presents but a universal blank!

“Sir, who was he who disarmed the Thunderer, wrested from his grasp the bolts of Jove, calmed the troubled ocean, became the central sun of the philosophical system of his age, shedding his brightness and effulgence on the whole civilised world—whom the great and mighty of the earth delighted to honour; who participated in the achievement of your independence, prominently assisted in moulding your free institutions, and the beneficial effects of whose wisdom will be felt till the last moment of recorded time? Who, Sir, I ask, was he? A Northern labourer—a Yankee tallow chandler’s son—a printer’s runaway boy!

“And who, let me ask the honourable gentleman—who was he, that in the days of our revolution, led forth an army—yes, an army of Northern labourers, and aided the chivalry of South Carolina, in their defence against British aggression, drove their spoilers from their firesides, and redeemed her fair fields from foreign invaders—who was he? A Northern labourer—a Rhode Island blacksmith—the gallant General Greene—who left his hammer and his forge, and went forth to do battle for our independence! And will you preach insurrection to men like these?

“Sir, our country is full of the glorious achievements of

Northern labourers. Where is Concord and Lexington, and Princeton, and Trenton, and Saratoga, and Bunker's Hill, but in the North? And what, Sir, has shed an imperishable renown on the never-dying names of those hallowed spots, but the blood and the struggles, the high daring and patriotism, and the sublime courage of Northern labourers? The whole North is an everlasting monument of the freedom, virtue, intelligence, and indomitable independence of Northern labourers. Go, Sir, go, preach insurrection to these!

"I appeal to the representatives from Pennsylvania. I ask you, Sirs, who is Joseph Ritner, the distinguished man, who at this very moment fills the executive chair of your great State—a man, who, in all that constitutes high moral and intellectual worth, has few superiors in this country—a man who has all the qualities of head and heart necessary to make the great statesman, and who possesses in the most enlarged degree, all the elements of human greatness—who, Sir, is he? A Northern labourer! a Pennsylvania waggoner—who for years drove his team from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia, 'over the mountains and over the moor,' not 'whistling as he went,' no, Sir, but preparing himself then by deep cogitation and earnest application, for the high destiny, which the future had in store for him. And who, let me ask the same gentleman—who is James Todd, the present Attorney General of Pennsylvania, distinguished for the extent of his legal acquirements, for the comprehensive energy of his mind, for his strength of argument, and vigorous elocution—who, Sirs, is he? He, too, is a Northern labourer, a Pennsylvania wood-chopper—in early childhood a destitute, desolate orphan, bound out by the overseers of the poor as an apprentice to a labourer! These, Sir, are some of the fruits of Northern institutions—some of the slaves, to whom the honourable gentlemen will have to preach insurrection!"

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Roger Sherman, Esq., the eminent Connecticut lawyer, the distinguished American senator, and the sage, began life as an humble protégé of St. Crispin. Daniel Webster was a farmer's boy, in the State of New Hampshire, whom his father had to rebuke for his absent-mindedness, so much like a scholar, and scold him to his task in the field. Whereupon Daniel said, "Father, my scythe hangs badly." His father endeavoured to fix it; but still the boy complained, that it was not right. "Hang it yourself, then," said the father. Daniel smiled, walked off with an arch look directed to his father, hung his scythe on a tree, and said: "There, father, it hangs to suit me now." And the father sent Daniel to Exeter academy, and next to Dartmouth University. What Daniel Webster is now, the world is sufficiently advised. Such the spirit, the pride, and aspirations of American Democracy. It claims not high birth; but looks to high things—things, which, it cannot be denied, in such examples as these, dignify humanity.

THE END.

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